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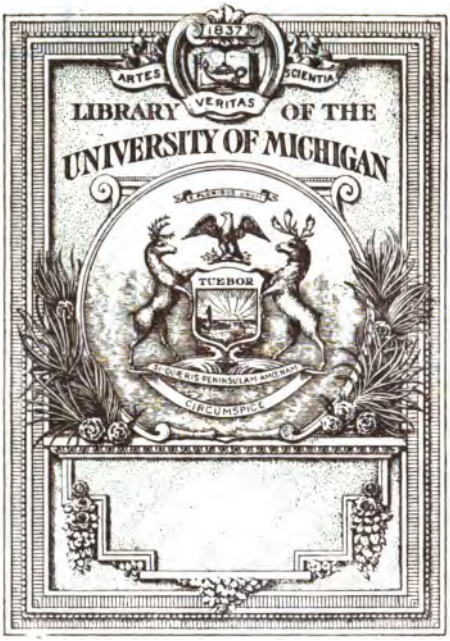

THE GIFT OF
Dr. C. C. Warden

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UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

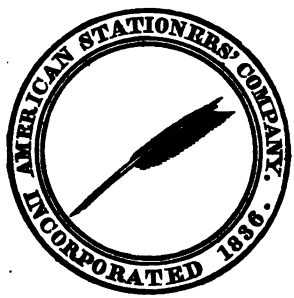
OF

JOHN VON MÜLLER.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE BOSTON SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.



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UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK XVII.

GRADUAL TRANSITION FROM THE SOCIAL ORDER OF THE MIDDLE AGES, TO THAT OF MODERN TIMES. A. D. 1273—1453.

SECTION I.

INTERREGNUM.

Upwards of sixty towns, situated between the Alps and Cologne along the course of the Rhine, had formed the Rhenish confederacy, which held its regular sessions at Mayence, Worms, and Strasburg. In the north, eighty commercial cities, of which Bremen, Hamburg, Lubeck, Brunswick, Erfurt, and Dantzick were the principal, and with which London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod were associated, formed the Hanseatic union. These combinations were both founded on commercial interests, and differed in that respect from the Swiss confederacy, the only object of which was freedom.

As the more powerful electors refused to acknowledge the monarchs who were chosen by some of their brethren after the decease of Frederick, it appears that the German empire possessed no point of union, by the influence of which it might have been able to maintain its former ascendency in the European commonwealth. From this time the empire contained many powerful and flourishing principalities, while the whole body was feeble and disjointed: hence the national feeling underwent a change, and public spirit diminished in proportion as the several states became separate and distinct. The interest of their families was the chief object of the princes; who not only provided for

the transference of their fiefs as heritable property, but concluded compacts of inheritance, by which the succession was secured to distant relatives or friends. No longer fearing the ascendency of the emperor, they cast a jealous eye on the privileges of the inferior nobles, to whom each petty prince stood in the same relation which the emperor had formerly held with respect to his own ancestors. Even the form of ancient freedom remained only in those provinces the princes of which had acquired but little power, as Franconia, Swabia, and the Rhenish territories. The ducal authority in Franconia and Swabia ceased at the extinction of the family of Hohenstaufen: and from this time the knights of the empire, for their own security, began to enter into the confederacy which still exists under their name. It is easy to conceive the unsettled state of affairs, when there was no emperor, no duke of Swabia, Franconia, or Austria, and no landgrave of Thuringia: the roads, the navigable waters, and indeed the whole face of the country, was exposed to the predatory excursions of the lawless knights and nobles, who inhabited innumerable fortresses; and the princes of the empire began to wish for a monarch, who should have sufficient authority and prudence to restore order, but not power enough to render him dangerous to their private interests.

SECTION II.

RUDOLPH OF HABSBURG.

At this period count Rudolph, of the house of Habsburg, had acquired by his talents, boldness, and popular manners, the esteem of the higher ranks; as well as of the citizens, whom he had frequently protected against the oppressions of the barbarous and despotic lords in their vicinity: he had long been the declared protector and chief of the cities of Zurich and Strasburg, and of the forest cantons which are situated at the entrance of the Alps of St. Gothard. His hereditary power was inconsiderable; but as he had been richly endowed by nature, he found resources which insured

him success, in his great capacity and military talents. His manners displayed the frankness and sincerity which distinguish a great man. Such was the chief whom the princes of Germany placed on the throne of the empire. A. D. 1273.

Rudolph conducted the affairs of his government with paternal dignity, and with the benevolence which he had been accustomed to exercise toward the meanest of his people. He made no display of external magnificence, but founded his authority entirely on his merit; and continued, in great engagements, to evince as much contempt of death, as when he had no crown to lose. He contributed to the prosperity of the empire in many respects, and particularly to the restoration of its internal peace; and he laid the foundation of the future greatness of his own house. Rudolph compelled Przemysl Ottocar, king of Bohemia and duke of Austria, to acknowledge his feudal subordination: but the latter renewed the war, at the instigation of his consort; and the emperor, on the Marchfeld in Austria, obtained a decisive victory. A. D. 1278. The king was betrayed by some of his people, whom he had irritated by many tyrannical proceedings, and was put to death, in his flight, by two noblemen of Stiria.

A. D. 1279. Rudolph concluded a peace with the young king Wenceslaf, whom he left in possession of his hereditary dominions, and married to his daughter, a princess of great beauty. Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, were confiscated as vacant fiefs, and remained for four years under the immediate tutelage of the crown. After having obtained the consent of the electors at the diet of Augsburg (A. D. 1282.), the emperor invested his two sons, counts Albert and Rudolph, with the duchy of Austria, Stiria, Windismark, and Carniola, as fiefs of the empire. To the landgrave Meinhard of Tyrol, of the house of the counts of Goritz, who had always been his faithful friend, and whose daughter was married to count Albert, he gave the duchy of Carinthia.

Such was the beginning of the dominion of the house of Habsburg over its more considerable hereditary territories within the empire. The landgraviate in Upper Alsace devolved upon it by inheritance, together with estates in

Swabia, to which king Rudolf added his mother's inheritance, the county of Kiburg, including Baden and Lenzburg; together with the possession of Lucern, Freiburg, the protectorship of Sekingen, and some insulated estates, which he acquired by various compacts.

SECTION III.

ADOLF AND ALBERT, KINGS OF THE GERMANS.

A. D. 1291. Rudolf died in advanced age, after having confirmed the power of his own family, and conferred the greatest benefits on the empire by the restoration of public order and tranquillity. The electors, partly from dislike, and partly through jealousy of his son Albert, raised count Adolf, of the house of Nassau, to the throne. A. D. 1292.

The family of Nassau is descended from Otho, the brother of that Conrad who had obtained the crown of Germany at the extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty. This Otho was a count, and resided at Laurenburg, on the Lahn: his family became divided into several branches, from one of which, viz. from the house of Weilburg, Adolf was descended.

The revenues attached to the royal office had been diminished, by a third part, since the death of Ferdinand II.: several of them had been bestowed by Rudolf on nobles of different ranks. This decline obliged those kings, who possessed but moderate hereditary wealth, to contrive extraordinary means of supporting their authority, and Adolf cast his eye on Thuringia. The margrave Albert, of Meissen, sovereign of that country, who was possessed with an unnatural hatred against his legitimate sons, sold Thuringia to Adolf, to the exclusion of them, and in favor of a bastard son. Partly in order to obtain the money necessary for this purchase, Adolf entered into a subsidiary treaty against France with Edward king of England. Meanwhile Albert of Austria took advantage of this, and of other circumstances adverse to the influence of the king, formed a

strong party against him, and procured himself to be elected in his stead. Adolf, who was a valiant commander, contended unsuccessfully for his dignity, and fell, as it is said, by the hand of his rival. A. D. 1298.

King Albert was one of the first princes who, in the administration of their governments, brought into practice the principles of the present monarchies. The privileges of the nobles and the rights of the people, were the objects of his detestation, because they continually opposed obstacles to his will. He endeavored to carry his arbitrary designs into execution, in every possible mode, by military force: and, in order to maintain the power of his arms in sufficient vigor, he found it necessary to extend his territories, as the countries already subjected to his sway were not able to furnish resources commensurate with his ambitious projects.

He also endeavored to aggrandize himself at the expense of the margraves of Meissen; and after many dissensions with his brother-in-law Wenceslaf, which procured him no advantage, he availed himself of an opportunity afforded by the death of that nobleman's heir (A. D. 1306.), in whom the royal family of Bohemia became extinct, in order to compel the states to elevate his own son to the throne. On the failure of the house of Vlaarding in the person of John, grandson of William count of Holland and Zealand, who had formerly been elected king of the Germans, he attempted to appropriate those sovereignties, and at the same time alarmed the petty tribes in the Alps which bordered on his hereditary dominions. He subdued Rudolf, archbishop of Salzburg, and oppressed his successor Conrad: he contended against the opposition which began to manifest itself in Stiria, and infringed upon the liberties of Vienna.

This active prince attained the proposed object of almost all his enterprises. He humbled the states, but drew upon himself so much detestation on that account, that his neighbors entered into a confederacy against him: his activity enabled him to dissipate their immature plans, but he obtained no further advantage from his good fortune. In Bohemia, Hungary, and Bavaria, the administration of affairs was in disorder, and the authority of the sovereign in a precarious state; but the general aversion to Albert

sufficed to preserve all these countries from subjection to his sway. He was assassinated, not without the concurrence, as is supposed, of several princes, by his nephew John, of whose inheritance he unjustly retained possession (A. D. 1308.); and his house was excluded, during four generations, from the throne of Germany. This was the event of the administration of a prince who possessed many good and great qualities, but who neglected to deserve and acquire the affection and confidence of his people.

SECTION IV.

THE HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG.

Henry, count of Luxemburg, who was recommended only by his personal merit, succeeded to the throne of Germany. He took advantage of the hatred of the Bohemian nobles to the family of Albert, and of the need in which they stood of his authority for their protection, in order to induce them to bestow their crown upon his son John: and thus the sceptre of Bohemia, after the death of the misguided Wenceslaf, the last descendant of the ancient kings, and after the short reign of Rudolf of Austria, and the weak administration of Henry of Carinthia, came into the hands of the counts of Luxemburg. John, who married the princess Elizabeth, sister of Wenceslaf, was an energetic and courageous prince. He and his successors opposed not less resistance to the rising greatness of the house of Habsburg, than the latter, in modern times, have maintained against the growing power of Prussia.

SECTION V.

NAPLES AND SICILY.

It will be necessary, before we relate the expedition of king Henry VII. into Italy, to take a view of the state of that country since the time when Clement IV. and Charles of Anjou had extirpated the family of Hohenstaufen.

The latter prince was king of Naples and Sicily, and had been invested with the chief temporal dignity in Rome, under the title of Senator: he was justly hated for his avarice, inhumanity, and haughtiness; and was besides a foreigner, and of a nation whose manners were in many respects opposite to those of the Italians. But Rudolf, king of the Germans, was so far from forming a powerful party in Italy, that he sold privileges to many of the cities, which became the foundation of their liberties. The nobles were also animated by a desire of independent power; and it was in this spirit that John Orsini, who succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, under the name of Nicholas III., endeavored to erect principalities for his family in Lombardy and in Tuscany (A. D. 1277.), and was accordingly the more anxious to find occupation at home for his troublesome neighbor Charles.

With this view he fomented discontents among the subjects of that prince, which were augmented by the establishment of the Inquisition. The more they suffered from the vexations and oppressions of Charles and his French favorites, the more they were inclined to listen to the proposals of Constantia of Hohenstaufen, queen of Arragon, who vehemently urged her husband Peter, and her sons, to revenge her family, and to raise themselves to a higher degree of power and splendor. The pope, however, who favored these plans, died, and was succeeded by Martin IV., a French cardinal, who was guided by totally different intentions; but designs, which are projected in genuine accordance with the public feeling, often produce their effect after their authors have ceased to direct their execution.

A. D. 1282. The astronomer Brunetti, in Romagna, and the physician John Procida, in Sicily, communicated on the same day the signal for the universal massacre of the French. Peter of Arragon, soon after this occurrence, was called to the throne of Sicily: Charles in vain had recourse to arms, and in vain the pope launched his maledictions: the former died of vexation for his loss, and the descendants of the grand-daughter of the emperor Frederick maintained, for centuries, the dominion which they owed, in this instance, to the will of the Sicilians. The

house of Anjou retained the kingdom of Naples, the territory in the vicinity of Rome, and the marquisate of Ancona.

Princes of commanding talent, descended from this family, acquired the crowns of Hungary, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Croatia, and Poland. No royal French family had possessed more extensive territories since the time of Charlemain: and if their dominions had been united under one head, or had been capable of forming a whole, it would have become even in that age the greatest power in Europe.

SECTION VI.

THE POPE.

After the popes had succeeded in subjecting all the princes and people of the Western world to their spiritual authority, they began to acquire temporal dominion in Italy, by the terrors of religion as well as by earthly weapons, for the holy see, and frequently for their own relatives. The artifices which it was necessary to practise in order to attain these objects, involved the court of Rome in projects, in the pursuit of which the foundations of its greatness were utterly neglected; for its reputation diminished in proportion as it approached to the character and principles displayed in the courts of temporal princes. The obscurity also in which the truth had hitherto been enveloped, speedily began to be dissipated; and the papacy had never sustained a severer shock than that which it received in the course of the contests between Boniface the Eighth and Philip the Fair of France.

Cardinals of the family of Colonna, flying from the persecution of the pope, who, whether justly or unjustly, was excessively enraged against them, sought refuge in the court of France. The king was now engaged in a quarrel with Rome, in which he had involved himself by venturing to displace and imprison a bishop, and by imposing a tax of a tenth on the estates of the church; and he was therefore inclined to give the exiles a favorable reception. Boniface asserted the principle of the universal and supreme authority

of his chair, over all spiritual and temporal powers; and reminded the king that he reigned only by delegation from himself. Philip caused this bull to be burnt in the presence of an assembly of the ecclesiastical and temporal lords, and summoned the states-general of his kingdom. He represented to this assembly, that Boniface, by means of fraud and violence, had caused himself to be illegally elevated to the pontifical dignity; and that he was now endeavoring to rob him (the king) of the authority which had been conferred upon him by God: he appealed to the judgment of the next general council of the church; and until that should take place, he forbade all communication with the Romish see.

The king, understanding at the same time that Boniface was endeavoring to excite Albert, the German monarch, to war against him, sent the banished Sciarra Colonna into Italy, together with William Nogaret, a French commander, who was hostile to the forms of the Romish ritual. These emissaries found the pope in the little town of Anagni, without any means of defence, but clothed in the insignia of his dignity, and resolved rather to die than to yield. They treated him with contumely, and shut him up in that place; until at length some of the noblemen of the vicinity taking up arms in order to procure his liberation, his persecutors quitted Anagni on the third day. The consequence of this transaction was, that Boniface, than whom no pope since the days of Gregory the Seventh had a higher feeling of his dignity, died, in the space of thirty-five days, of grief and vehement indignation. A. D. 1303. His measures had been consonant with ancient precedent, and were justified by the existing regulations; but he was not aware of the character of his opponent, or of the alteration which had taken place in the spirit of the age; and this negligence in observing the progress of the prevailing ideas continued to accelerate the decline of the papal power.

A. D. 1305. Philip received the pardon of his offences from Benedict the Ninth; and when Clement the Fifth, archbishop of Bourdeaux, with the consent of the king, ascended the papal chair, he continued to reside in France, and chiefly at Avignon: his six immediate successors, all of

whom were of French descent, in this respect followed his example.

But the holy see, at this period, had to contend with no Henrys or Hohenstaufens; nor did the daring spirit of Philip descend on any of his successors: established usage, mendicant friars, and the Inquisition, rendered the papacy apparently invincible; but the popes, while they resided in a foreign country, were no longer the advocates of the freedom of Italy and of Europe; and there existed at that period no apprehension of a universal monarchy. The sovereigns, on the other hand, had now established their power on more lasting foundations, on the influence of gold and arms: they acquired a more extensive influence over their people, and beheld with indignation the magnitude of those sums which were incessantly transmitted to the pope.

The pursuits of scholastic learning furnished an exercise for reflection; and what was of far greater importance, patriotic citizens, possessed of talent and courage, began to write with freedom in their native language; and the boldness, the ironical style, and the happy representations which their works contained, acquired the approbation of the higher and most influential classes.

SECTION VII.

THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS.

The rising republics of Italy had originally attached themselves to the party of the Guelphs, through apprehension of the Germans: during the latter days of the emperor Frederick, and subsequently to his death, the young Ezelino di Romano was at the head of the Ghibellines.

One of his ancestors, who was a German, had received from the emperor Conrad the Second the fiefs of Onara and St. Romano, in the dominions of Padua and Asole, as a reward for his services; and under Frederick Barbarossa, one of his family (also named Ezelino), had fought in the cause of freedom, as commander of the towns of Trevigi and Vicenza, and afterwards of the confederacy of Lom-

bardy. Frederick the Second gave his illegitimate daughter in marriage to young Ezelino, who in return put the emperor in possession of the towns of Trevigi and Padua, and received the appointment of general of the imperial arms in Italy. Ezelino was laid under the great bann by Innocent the Fourth, as a disturber of the peace of the country, and on account of his unprecedented cruelties; and Padua was taken from him by Fontana, archbishop of Ravenna: but he soon began to exert himself, and commenced his revengeful operations against Padua, which had deserted his cause, by enclosing 12,000 of the citizens of that place in the ancient Roman amphitheatre at Verona, part of whom he destroyed by fire, and the rest by depriving them of food: he razed Vicenza to its foundations, conquered Mantua, took possession of Tuscany, and defeated the forces of the Milanese. At length he fell into the hands of his enemies, and died of his wounds: but his brother Alberigo, and his whole family, were put to death by the most dreadful tortures. All the cities recovered their freedom, and purchased from king Rudolf the right of exercising those privileges which had hitherto been reserved for the empire.

From this time forward republics began to appear in Italy. Government was intrusted to the ancient families; but the remains of factions still produced so much insecurity, that even in the towns the houses of the great were surrounded with strong towers and battlements, and frequently with fosses. The most trifling occurrence produced skirmishes in the streets; and the victor in these contests frequently became the tyrant of his native city, until his rivals, as powerful and ambitious as himself, boldly availed themselves of his unguarded moments, and destroyed his power; or until the oppressed citizens secretly invited some fortunate adventurer, or one of the princes of France or Naples, to assist them in regaining freedom. Treachery, conspiracy, and assassination by poison and by the dagger, came at last to be considered as necessary means of personal security; and all the transactions of civil life were often for a long time interrupted.

From the midst of these disorders the light of knowledge began to dawn, and virtues to display themselves, worthy

of the ancient Greeks and Romans. As the life of nature is maintained by the action and reaction of opposing powers; and as religion is not designed to afford continual repose in this state of existence, but to fortify us for the struggles of life; so the human faculties and the energy of the soul stand in need of great exertions, and of impediments which appear at first sight insurmountable, in order that, by re-acting upon themselves, they may awaken, develope, and exalt those powers with which the Creator has endowed us.

SECTION VIII.

FLORENCE.

Florence was governed by the descendants of those nobles who had founded the city on the ruins of Fiesole, at the foot of a mountain, on the smiling shores of the Arno: they had gradually increased its extent, protected its infant population, and purchased privileges for its benefit. The Buondelmonti, the Amidei, the Donati, and the Uberti, were the chief families of the city.

It happened in the thirteenth century, that a widow of the family of the Donati wished to marry her only daughter, a lady of great beauty, to one of the Buondelmonti. The young knight, who was ignorant of her intentions, had given his promise to a daughter of the house of Amidei; but as he was on some occasion passing the house of the Donati, the mother appeared at the door, entered into conversation with him, and pressed him to recall his promise to the Amidei. Buondelmonti, influenced by the wealth and power of the Donati, as well as by the uncommon beauty of the young lady, consented to the proposal. When the Amidei were informed of this affair, they entered into a confederacy with their relations, the Uberti, and resolved to put Buondelmonti to death: some of the family hesitated, lest the stability of the republic should be endangered by the result of the contest; but they were determined to proceed by the impetuosity of Moscha Lamberti, who exclaimed, "The man who is always calculating results never

ventures to act!" Accordingly, at the festival of Easter, they posted four resolute men in the castle of the Amidei, which was situated close by the bridge over the Arno; and when the knight, who was easily recognized at a distance by his snow-white horse, passed it according to his custom, they sallied forth and killed him at the foot of a statue of Mars which stood near the spot.

The great families divided themselves thenceforward into parties, fortified themselves against each other, and augmented their own power by all possible means. The emperor Frederick declaring himself on the side of the Uberti, their adversaries were compelled to quit the city and retire to their estates; but when, after the decease of the emperor, Ezelino had fallen, and the Ghibellines had become dispersed, Sylvester de' Medici availed himself of this opportunity, and with the assistance of a powerful party among the citizens, banished the Uberti in their turn, and introduced a regular form of government. Florence was now divided into six districts, from each of which two anziani, or elders, were annually elected: the head man of the people, and the criminal judge, in whose hands the supreme authority in all political, civil and criminal affairs was entrusted, were chosen during the short period of their administration, from the other Italian cities, in order that they might be the less exposed to the temptation of partiality. The citizens capable of bearing arms were arranged under twenty city banners, and the peasants under seventy-six country standards; and for each of these companies a captain was annually elected at Whitsuntide. The point of union in every battle was a large chariot hung with red cloth, and drawn by oxen, and bearing the great banner, which, at the commencement of every campaign, was delivered with great solemnity to the city commander, by the whole body of citizens assembled in the new market. The sound of the great bell, Martinella, which was incessantly tolled for a month previous to the commencement of the expedition, served to announce the feud and to summon the military power of the country: it was carried with the army into the field, and was employed to give the signal for every enterprise; for it was held dishonorable to attack the enemy by surprise.

Florence soon became the most powerful city in Tuscany, and reckoned Pistoja, Arezzo, and Siena, among the number of its allies. Volterra was destroyed, and her citizens, as well as the inhabitants of several fortresses on the Roman side, incorporated with the population of Florence; which became so populous, that after the plague, which has been incomparably described by Boccacio, had swept away 96,000 persons, it still remained sufficiently powerful for the defence of its freedom and dominion.

The Ghibellines, who had been either banished or excluded from all share in the administration of public affairs, omitted no opportunity of disturbing the internal tranquillity of the state; and the contests thus excited frequently produced changes, more or less important, in the form of the constitution, but uniformly to the disadvantage of the ancient families: for as the people became accustomed to arms, it was found the more difficult to refuse to the defenders of their country equal rights and powers with the superior classes.

Affairs were in this state when Geri Cancellieri, of a good family in Pistoja, received a severe wound in a tournament, from his kinsman Lore. When Lore went, by his father's command, to beg pardon of the father of his wounded relative, the latter replied, "The wounds inflicted by iron are to be healed by iron, and not by words," and caused the hand of the unfortunate youth to be cut off. All Pistoja was now divided into parties, the different families flew to arms, and the Donati of Florence declared themselves on one side, and the Cerchi on the other. As the young men of the house of the Donati rode out with their friends, during the festivals of May, to see the dances of the country people, the Cerchi rushed forcibly through their ranks and provoked a battle. From that time arose the factions of the black and the white; the former of which colors was adopted by the Guelphs, while the Ghibellines chiefly associated themselves to the latter. The Ghibellines, together with their illustrious poet, Dante Allighieri, a chief magistrate of the commonwealth, were overcome by the superior power of the Guelphs, and banished from the city.

Florence was continually improving, notwithstanding all these disturbances, in population and magnificence. The

tower of Robert, one of the earliest masterpieces of architecture, was raised during this period by the skilful hand of Giotto. Universal prosperity was diffused by commerce, while some particular families had the good fortune to acquire great wealth, and obtained accordingly the highest distinction in the commonwealth.

SECTION IX.

VENICE.

The constitution of Venice was also formed during the 13th century. It had long been the policy of this city to attach itself to that party on the continent which appeared to promise the most powerful protection for its liberty. Its maritime commerce imparted to its citizens a growing spirit of enterprise, which was roused into new activity by the conquest of the Venetians in Dalmatia, and by the acquisition of several islands which fell into their hands after the occupation of Constantinople by the crusaders. The Venetians possessed no territory on the continent of Italy, but laid the foundation of their power on the sea.

Each of the four islands on which the city is built had, in the beginning, its separate government: the offices of government were few, and seldom the objects of ambition.

The several islands united themselves only in time of war under a common leader, until Paulutius Anafestus obtained the supreme power for life under the name of Doge. A. D. 709.

The power of this officer was regulated by the laws; and instead of being hereditary, it was conferred by the community, when it became vacant by death, on some person nominated by the other magistrates. The multiplication of affairs, to which few could apply themselves without interruption to their necessary business, afterwards gave occasion to the formation of a regular council, consisting of 240 members, and chosen from the nobles and the citizens. One department of this body administered the financial, and another the judicial affairs of the state. The elections were made from the whole body of the citizens.

In the period which succeeded the fall of the imperial house of Hohenstaufen, during which the cities of Italy were oppressed by a multitude of petty tyrants, it appeared dangerous to allow free access to the deliberations of the council; not only because secrecy and a more circumscribed interest were necessary to the safety of the state, but also because the effect of such enterprises as might be resolved upon seemed in great measure to depend on the same circumstances. The first experiment was made on such of the members as were vassals of the king of Cyprus: these were excluded from all such deliberations as had reference to that kingdom. The prohibition was soon afterwards extended to all who were vassals of the continental princes of Italy in the territory of Ferrara and Treviso. It was further extended so as to include all the kinsmen of the persons above described. These were excluded from the great council, and from the civil tribunal; or at least from governing their decisions, or hearing the votes which were given in those assemblies. When the rulers had thus proved by experiment that they might venture on setting limits to the eligibility of candidates, in the eighth year of the administration of the doge Petro Gradenigo, they effected the great *serratura del consiglio* (A. D. 1297.), by which all those who had not sat in the great council within that year, or the four years preceding, as well as their descendants, were for ever deprived of the privilege of being elected to that assembly.

The senators had taken the precaution, before this last measure was proposed, to cause all the most powerful individuals of the different districts to be elected to the council: they had also given to the whole body of citizens, the unlimited right of fishing and fowling; to the Pievegatins, the privilege of dining annually with the doge, and of embracing him on that occasion; to the Nicolotti they had granted the distinction of binding the felucca of their district to the magnificent Bucentaur which annually conveyed the doge, when he went out on the festival of the ascension, to perform the ceremony of throwing the wedding-ring into the sea; and they had entitled the inhabitants of the isle of St. Maria Formosa to receive a yearly visit from the

doge, and the *signori* or chief lords. Numerous theatrical entertainments had also been appointed, and great activity communicated to commercial enterprise. The ultimate designs were so carefully concealed, that when the gastaldo of the Nicolotti wished to be released from the presidency of the tribunal of property (*del proprio*), which belonged to him by ancient custom, the government refused consent, until that officer extorted it by many solicitations, and by engaging to pay to the doge and themselves an annual tribute of a thousand pounds of salt fish, as a recompense for the trouble which they undertook. The senators were denominated the "pregadi," or the "much entreated," on account of the labor attached to their office, which it was supposed that none would willingly undertake.

A. D. 1310. In the last year but one of the reign of the same doge, Bajamonte Tiepolo, Basseggi and Querini, who were themselves nobles, formed the resolution of overturning the government, and collected a party among the citizens for that purpose: their designs were discovered, but they nevertheless flew to arms, and a severe contest ensued, which lasted a whole day. At length a convention was concluded, by which the conspirators were permitted to leave the city. For the investigation of this affair a commission, consisting of ten members of the senate, was appointed, whose authority was at first limited to fourteen days; it was afterwards prolonged for six weeks, and again for an indefinite period; until at length, while Francesco Dandolo reigned as doge (A. D. 1335.), it was declared perpetual, under the name of the council of ten. The province of this body is to watch over all popular movements "tending to a breach of the peace," and over all such abuses of power as may give occasion to such disturbances.

SECTION X.

MILAN.

A. D. 1311. A year had elapsed after this event, when Henry VII., king of the Germans, entered Italy. He found

Milan divided between the family della Torre, who were chiefly Guelphs, and the Visconti, who belonged to the faction of the Ghibellines. Guidotto della Torre, commander of the city, and Matteo Visconti, an old and experienced nobleman, appeared to have laid aside the animosity of their respective parties; but the Germans excited discontent among the citizens. The artful Matteo seemed to have forgotten, from affection to the cause of his country, his former attachment to the imperial party, and secretly contributed to excite the daring spirit which had animated the ancient Milanese against the Fredericks: at length an insurrection broke out; and no sooner had the nobles of the Torre taken up arms for the purpose of quelling it, than Matteo ran to the palace, declaimed against the ever hostile dispositions of that house, and against a design which he imputed to them of obtaining possession of the person of king Henry, in a tumult excited by themselves: this project, as he said, could only be defeated by himself, with the assistance of the German troops. The latter, inflamed with rage, marched under the guidance of Matteo against Guidotto, who was compelled to resist in his own defence. Visconti, by the assistance of the Germans, killed the greater part of the house of Torre; the rest were banished, and their property confiscated; and Matteo was shortly afterwards appointed vicar-general of the empire (A. D. 1317.): he assumed, after a few years, the title of sovereign lord of Milan, the government of which continued in his house.

SECTION XI.

SAVOY.

During the wars of the emperors, the counts of Savoy had availed themselves of the advantages of their situation; which enabled them to attack an army either at its entrance into the passes of the Alps, or when it issued, disabled by fatigue, from the recesses of the mountains. Hence all parties sought their alliance; and the emperors, in particular, bestowed upon them a very extensive vicar-generalship in

the empire. The noblemen who inhabited the vicinity either sought protection in voluntary submission, or were subdued by force of arms: and the more they were divided among themselves, the greater was the influence of the count, who subjected to his power the lords of Tarantaise, and tamed the haughty independence of Turin and Asti.

While the count of Savoy on one side opened the passes of the Alps to the imperial arms, he formed at the same time a league of amity with the kings of England, who were also powerful in France, where the count possessed territories in Dauphiné and in other provinces: it was to his connection with England that Peter of Savoy owed the extension of the power of his family in the Pays de Vaud.

The latter country was divided among several powerful chiefs and a great number of inferior ones; and it was doubtful whether the influence of the Upper Burgundy, of the empire, or of Savoy would acquire the superiority. When, after the death of Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Richard of Cornwall, brother of the king of England, was invited among other princes, by some of the electors, to the vacant throne, Savoy immediately recognized his title. At this period the count reduced under his sway the towns and fortresses of Moudon, Romont, Murten, and Iverdun, the latter of which made a vigorous resistance: and Richard, on his part, confirmed the possession of the Pays de Vaud to the house of Savoy. A. D. 1263. The territories of this family now extended from the waters of Nice to the Aar. The counts took no very deep interest in the contests of the Ghibellines and Guelphs; but occasionally aggrandized themselves at the expense of both parties.

Such also was the policy which Amadeus advised king Henry to pursue; when the latter, as he emerged from the mountains at Susa and contemplated the magnificent prospect which Italy presented to his view, shed tears as he reflected on the factions by which it was torn. This monarch, however, endeavored to restore the salutary influence of a universal sovereignty in Italy: but his arrival excited the anxiety of all those states which had rendered themselves independent. Florence hastily concluded an alliance with Robert king of Naples, notwithstanding that

the latter was so dangerous an enemy of the freedom of Tuscany; and in order to conciliate the domestic factions of that state, a part of the banished citizens were recalled: the Orsini also, the most powerful family in Rome, attached themselves at this conjuncture to the party of king Robert. Henry was preparing the means of a vigorous resistance to so many enemies, when he unexpectedly died at Pisa, destroyed, as it was supposed, by poison. A. D. 1313. His son John, who found sufficient occupation in confirming the basis of his power in Bohemia, interested himself but little either in the affairs of Italy or in those of the imperial crown.

SECTION XII.

LEWIS OF BAVARIA.

The last-mentioned prince, however, favored the pretensions of Lewis of Bavaria, who was chosen king by one party of the electors (A. D. 1314.), while the votes of the remainder fell on Frederick, duke of Austria. This division produced disturbances in the empire which lasted four years, and were at last decided, on the field of Mühldorf (A. D. 1322), in favor of Lewis, who gave battle to Frederick before the latter could receive the reinforcement which his brother Leopold was bringing to his assistance. The victory was decided chiefly by the unexpected arrival of the burgrave of Nurnberg, of whose approach the enemy was ignorant: the latter took king Frederick prisoner, together with many of the nobles of Austria; some of whom, as the price of their ransom, acknowledged themselves as the vassals of the burgrave, whose family from that time possessed in Austria a feudal judicature. Henry, duke of Carinthia, was also made prisoner by king John, with whom he had formerly contended for the crown of Bohemia. Lewis, however, dreaded the jealousy of the princes of the empire and the influence of the pope, who was hostile to his interests; and his views were directed toward Italy, where John of Bohemia was already endeavoring to stir up enemies against him

among the Lombards: all these circumstances induced him to consent to a peace, which was honorable even to Frederick. A. D. 1325.

Lewis, following the example of his four predecessors, endeavored to consolidate the power of his family, which was divided into two branches: accordingly, at the extinction of the reigning branch of the house of Anhalt in Brandenburg, he obtained the sovereignty of that country for his eldest son, Lewis (A. D. 1322.); and king John, whose consent was necessary to this arrangement, was rewarded with Egra and the Lausitz.

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty in which he had acknowledged Frederick as co-regent, Lewis took a journey into Italy. The pope, who resided at Avignon, was induced to oppose him by the influence of the court of France; and the measures of the court of Rome were supported by the policy of Robert, king of Naples. This opposition on the part of France was owing to the alliance of Lewis with England, who had married the sister of the king of that country, and had acquired great influence in the Netherlands by this connection. But we prefer to take another opportunity of discussing the consequences of these relations, rather than interrupt the history of the German emperors with the narrative of Italian affairs.

Lewis long found an enemy in Germany in the person of his brother Rudolf, the elector palatine. Such were the intestine divisions which ever prevented the house of Wittelsbach from attaining that power which the extent of its territories seemed to promise it.

The policy of the house of Luxemburg and the influence of the pope, effectually destroyed the peace of king Lewis and of his family: and before the period of his death, which took place suddenly at the close of a laborious reign, some of the electors were already occupied in choosing a successor. A. D. 1347.

SECTION XIII.

CHARLES THE FOURTH.

The imperial crown neither reverted to the house of Nassau, although count Gerlach was now elector of Mayence, nor to that of Habsburg, though duke Albert was highly celebrated for his wisdom. After Edward, king of England, had refused to accept it, and Frederick of Meissen had waived his pretensions for a sum of money, count Günther of Schwartzburg having at length yielded and closed his long opposition by a suspicious death, Charles of Luxemburg, son and successor of king John, was universally acknowledged emperor. He had given ten thousand marks to the margrave of Meissen, and twenty-two thousand to count Günther; and had bestowed many presents and privileges on the other electors.

It appeared to be the chief object of Charles, during an administration of thirty years, to increase the power and splendor of his house, by obtaining from the alienable domains and privileges the greatest possible amount of money and other advantages. He was, besides, careful to maintain such a degree of pomp as should support in public the majesty of the imperial crown and an appearance of consistency.

He raised Mecklenburg and Ellwangen to the dignity of principalities of the empire: he bestowed hereditary offices on the margrave of Meissen, and on the count of Schwarzburg; and gave the title of duke to his brother Wenceslaf, count of Luxemburg, to the count of Bar, and to the margrave of Juliers. On his journey into Italy, he sold freedom to some of the towns, and independent power to the tyrants who oppressed other parts of that country: but, on the other hand, he promised not to visit it again without consent of the pope, and not to pass a night in Rome.

He promulgated that fundamental law of the empire, called the golden bull, which regulates the election of the German monarchs, and some other points of the constitu-

tion; and on this occasion he adopted the language of the ancient sovereigns of the world.

In imitation of the policy of his father, who had contrived to sever Silesia from its connection with Poland (A. D. 1335.), and to annex it to his own dominions; Charles availed himself of the unprincely disposition of his son-in-law Otho, son of king Lewis, in order to bring the sovereignty of the marks of Brandenburg into his own family. A. D. 1373. His hereditary dominions now extended from the boundaries of Austria to those of Pomerania; and there was no prince in all Germany who equalled him in riches, or who surpassed him in power, or in acquaintance with the interests of his house.

When Charles perceived that the conclusion of his life was approaching, he abandoned the customs levied on the Rhine to the electors, and gained the members of that body by different measures suited to their diverse inclinations and circumstances. One of these methods was a present of a hundred thousand florins, by which he secured the election of his son Wenceslaf to the title of king of the Germans, during his own life: for the emperor had derived too much assistance, in pursuit of the increase and confirmation of his power, from the imperial dignity, not to wish that his son might obtain it; for in that age it was found that it might be made, by good management, to repay the expenses it had cost.

SECTION XIV.

WENCESLAF.

Wenceslaf too early and too decidedly evinced principles which were disagreeable both to the clergy and to the nobles. He allowed the former to retain no considerable share of influence; he even proceeded to appoint Przemsyl, duke of Teschen, a lay prince, to the office of vice-chancellor of the empire; and endeavored to arrogate to himself the privilege of deciding on the claims and the conduct of the cardinals who were contending for the papacy. He

appeared to encourage the resistance made by the Rhenish and Swabian towns against the noble members of the societies of St. George and of the Golden Lion: but when that confederacy, consisting of eighty cities, became too powerful in consequence of its alliance with Switzerland, he seemed to view without displeasure its dissolution. In order to promote this change, he favored the establishment of the constitution of circles; for as the circles consisted of spiritual and temporal principalities and of towns, and as the knights had considerable influence in some of them, there was but little danger of their being brought to unite in one project against the emperor.

The nobles of Bohemia, who thought him too partial to the people, made him a prisoner (A. D. 1394.), under pretence of violent and immoral conduct, and put him into the safe custody of the dukes of Austria. He made his escape: but six years afterwards, on the most shallow pretences, was deposed by the spiritual electors (A. D. 1400.), and by the count palatine, who shortly afterwards became his successor. Frankfort and Aix-la-Chapelle refused to take any part in this transaction. Wenceslaf was so little like other men, that the crown appeared not to be necessary to his happiness; he chose rather to content himself with his government of Bohemia, than to retain the imperial title without the power of pursuing those principles which he thought just and necessary; and hence he did not long hesitate to execute the instrument of resignation that was demanded of him.

SECTION XV.

SIGISMUND.

Frederick, duke of Brunswick, was elected in the place of Wenceslaf, but was murdered on his return by a private enemy. Rupert, count palatine of the Rhine, a prince of prudent and upright intentions, next obtained the crown. After his death it was bestowed on Jodochus of Luxemburg, margrave of Moravia, a nephew of

Charles the Fourth. A. D. 1410. On the decease of this monarch, which soon followed his election, Sigismund, king of Hungary, brother of Wenceslaf, was unanimously chosen. A. D. 1411. Wenceslaf, who was still living, enjoyed his dominion of Bohemia, and beheld with secret satisfaction the origin of the Hussites, who shook the power of the aristocracy which he hated and despised.

Few princes have united a greater number of crowns than Sigismund: he became possessor, in his early youth, of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Bosnia, by his marriage with his first wife, Mary of Anjou: eight years after his election as king of the Germans, he succeeded to the throne of Bohemia, vacant by the death of his brother; he received the imperial crown from the pope; and to all these dignities he united the sovereignty of Moravia, Lausitz, Silesia, and Brandenburg. But having suffered his royal safe conduct, which had been granted to John Huss, to be broken, in consequence of which this honest and zealous declaimer against the abuses of the church was burned alive at Constance (A. D. 1414.), Sigismund became so much the object of popular hatred, that he was obliged to maintain a war of eighteen years' duration against Ziska, Procopius, and other leaders of the Hussites; and only a few months before his death attained to the quiet possession of the Bohemian crown. This prince narrowly escaped captivity or death, by the arms of the Turks, in the battle of Nicopolis: and after the termination of the dismal imprisonment in which he was kept by the nobles of Hungary, he reigned in that country peacefully, but without performing any deeds of fame against the Ottoman power. The loss of almost the whole revenue of the German empire, and the turbulent disposition of the people, were impediments almost insurmountable by the greatest talents. Sigismund was so destitute of money, that he was obliged to sell the electorate of Brandenburg for 400,000 marks, to the wise and valiant count of Nurnberg, Frederick of Hohenzollern. A. D. 1417. He received the sum of 100,000 marks from Frederick, margrave of Meissen, as the price of the electoral hat of Saxony, which he bestowed on the latter at the extinction of the electoral branch of the family of Anhalt (A. D. 1422.),

without regard to the claims of that branch which resided at Lauenburg. He also alienated for a sum of money the hereditary estates of the family of Habsburg, of which the Swiss, by his order, had taken possession on behalf of the empire. A. D. 1415. Notwithstanding all these occurrences, Sigismund was so active in the restoration of order in the church, and in other salutary reforms, that he was evidently prevented from achieving great and laudable enterprises by the want of power and not by defect of inclination.

SECTION XVI.

AUSTRIAN EMPERORS.

The imperial power, debased by weak or unfortunate princes or by defective policy, did not recover its splendor after the death of Sigismund. Albert, duke of Austria, a prince endowed with many estimable qualities, was son-in-law to the late emperor; and the Hungarians, at his coronation, stipulated that he should not accept the crown of Germany; for the affairs of the empire had too frequently deprived them of the presence of their former sovereign, and had prevented him from giving any attention to the progress of the Turkish arms. Albert was also compelled to submit to a capitulation in Bohemia. But after the electors had in vain invited the margrave of Brandenburg to accept the crown, it was at length placed, with the consent of the Hungarians, on the head of Albert (A. D. 1438.), who however died when he had scarcely found time to show the Turks that he designed to guard the boundaries of Christendom with greater vigilance. A. D. 1439.

A. D. 1440. His posthumous son, Ladislaf, succeeded to his portion of the hereditary dominions in Germany, and to his claim of election to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. But the Hungarians, who stood in need of a powerful chief for the support of their tottering throne, elected Vladislaf king of Poland, during Ladislaf's minority; and in Bohemia, George Podiebradsky, one of the most intelligent and enterprising noblemen of that country, united

the wishes of the prevailing faction, and of the impartial and honest part of the community. The imperial crown was offered to Frederick, duke of Austria, who was obliged to give up a considerable portion of that half of the hereditary German dominions which belonged to his house. His power was so much diminished by this division, that nothing but the name of his family, and the public estimation of his character, could have recommended him to this highest dignity. The powerful house of Luxemburg, which had been perceptibly enfeebled under the latter reigns, was now extinct: and it was the object of the electors to choose a sovereign who should not be sufficiently powerful to compel obedience. The electors of the palatinates of Saxony and of Brandenburg were either too enterprising or too much dreaded for their power, to unite the votes in favor of their claims.

SECTION XVII.

NAPLES AND SICILY.

Robert of Anjou, king of Naples, was one of the greatest princes who have reigned in Italy since the destruction of its imperial power; but after his death (A. D. 1343.), the greatness of his family fell into decay through the passions of its chiefs. His grandchild and successor Johanna caused her husband Andrew, who was of the Hungarian branch of her family, to be put to death (A. D. 1345.); and by this measure drew on herself and on her kingdom, the vengeance of his brother, Lewis the Great of France. In vain she sought protection in the power of two other husbands whom she successively married, and in the authority of the papal court: the vengeance of blood overtook her through the arms of her cousin Charles, duke of Durazzo, who put her to death and took possession of her kingdom. A. D. 1382.

A. D. 1386. Charles was murdered in his turn a few years afterwards, on account of his efforts to place himself on the throne of Hungary: after which Lewis of Anjou, brother of Charles the Wise, king of France, and adopted son of the unfortunate Johanna, laid claim to the kingdom of

Naples. His pretensions were vain; for Lancelot, son of Charles of Durazzo, displayed such heroic qualities, that he not only left to Lewis (a cunning and voluptuous prince) the bare title to the kingdom, but seemed almost to have secured the union of all Italy. But in the midst of his victorious career, and before he had attained the fortieth year of his age, Lancelot, enamored, during the siege of Perugia, of the daughter of a physician of that place, gave peace to her country for her sake, and was rewarded by poison, which his mistress administered to him on the first opportunity.

A. D. 1414. His sister and successor, the second Johanna, was an encourager of learning and a votary of every species of enjoyment. Her intercourse with Pandolfello Alop, a youth of low birth, exciting scandal and jealousy, she was compelled to choose a husband, and gave her hand to Jaques de la Marche, a French prince, who had scarcely made himself acquainted with the military chiefs of the country, when, in confidence of their support, he caused himself to be proclaimed king. A. D. 1415. The insulted princess committed the revenge of her injuries to Jacob Sforza of Cotignuola, a man who had been raised, by his courage, good fortune, and enterprising spirit, from the condition of a peasant to that of condottiere, or leader of a numerous band, wholly devoted to his service. He expelled the count de la Marche, and afterwards, in order to make himself of greater importance, quitted the service of the queen; who, instead of buying him at the price which he expected, appointed Alfonso king of Arragon and Sicily, who deserved the surname of Wise, as heir to her possessions. A. D. 1420.

The opposition of the titular kings of the family of Anjou was too feeble to make any effectual impression; their exertions were sufficient only to preserve their contiguous dominion of Provence. Alfonso, who was well aware how probable it was that the views of the unstable court of Naples might undergo a change, endeavored to secure the fortresses which commanded the city and the bay: but when Johanna perceived his intentions, she reconciled herself with Sforza, expelled the Arragonese, and recalled the titular king Lewis. A. D. 1424. Alfonso, however, again ac-

quited her favor, and after her death forcibly maintained his claims. A. D. 1425. Naples and Sicily thus became re-united, after a separation of one hundred and seventy-three years. The independent spirit of the ancient Normans still existed among the powerful towns and the barons, who maintained their privilege of preventing the king from imposing any taxes without the consent of the parliament; in later times, however, the representation of the municipal towns was transferred to the capital. The imposts were granted only for a limited period, and were at first raised only upon the produce of estates; but they were afterwards extended to houses, and at length to articles of consumption, especially to bread, meat, cheese, and oil.

SECTION XVIII.

THE POPES.

The popes who resided at Avignon, appeared, for their own benefit, to favor the division of power in Italy; for by this method they obtained adherents in opposition to the influence of the emperor, none of whom were alone sufficiently powerful to become formidable to themselves. With these views Benedict XII., who was a prudent and in many respects an excellent pontiff, confirmed the authority of the chiefs who had usurped the supreme power in some of the large cities: and the emperor Lewis, of the house of Bavaria, could think of no better way of revenging himself, than by affording the same protection to those who had made similar attempts in the papal towns. These two sovereigns, in reality, only suffered a change to take place which they could not have prevented; for even the authority of Lewis was not capable of re-establishing supreme power in Italy: he would in vain have attempted to effect any considerable measure in Lombardy without the concurrence of the Visconti: or in Tuscany, without that of Castruccio Castracani, the hero of Lucca.

Italy became continually more and more divided into small and independent states: the house of Este, which

even yet continues to reign, established its authority at Modena: that of Gonzaga, at Mantua; the family of Scala, at Verona and Parma; and that of Carrara, at Padua. The confusion was augmented by the interference of John king of Bohemia, who took Brescia and Bergamo, and whose design was to deprive the arms of Lewis of the superiority which dexterity or good fortune might have conferred upon him.

Pesaro and Rimini, two noblemen of the house of Malatesta, made themselves sovereigns of Fano: and the territory of Ancona was subject to the Montefeltro. It would occupy too much time to describe the characters of the Manfredi, the Alidosi, the Ordelaffi, and the Polenta, the heads of which families were in those ages sometimes the fathers and sometimes the oppressors of their country; while it not unfrequently happened that the same person assumed both these characters in succession.

While the pre-eminence in Rome was the object of contention between the Colonna and the Orsini, Nicholas Rienzi, a man of plebeian origin, who was inflamed by the enthusiasm of the ancients, endeavored to restore freedom to his native city by erecting a tribunate of the people. The people of Rome took up arms in favor of this cherished name: they gained possession of the capitol, and drove out the enemies of freedom. Rienzi was a man of courage and integrity, and the revival of the virtues of ancient Rome was expected from his influence, when suddenly, as if exhausted by his exertions or oppressed by the greatness of his own designs, he took flight; but was made prisoner by Charles IV. and sent in that character to the pope. Francesco Baroncegli endeavored to carry on his project; and the papal court, in order to prevent the success of his plans, sent back Rienzi himself, who soon caused Baroncegli to be put to death, and immediately afterwards met his own fate, during an insurrection, from the hands of the Colonna. The city was now in the utmost confusion; and Clement VI. sent four cardinals for the purpose of restoring order: this they speedily effected; for the year of jubilee was approaching, and the people were inclined to submit to any conditions, rather than lose the profits of that festival by

suffering it to be transferred to Avignon in consequence of their disorders.

After the jubilee, the rulers of the towns and fortresses continued to prosecute their feuds; the manners of the people became altogether barbarous, and every sentiment was immersed in the prevailing devotion to sensual pleasures; neither justice nor humanity had any influence, when opposed to the desire of wealth. It was common among the chiefs to cause the rivals of their power to be put to death at the most confidential entertainments, by the sword or by poison; or to pursue with dogs the enemies of their family or the powerful citizens. Barnaba Visconti was accompanied by these ferocious beasts when he went through the streets of Milan to seize one of the Ugolini, and shut him up, with his whole family, in gloomy towers where they were suffered to die of hunger and to be devoured by worms. This was a heroic age, like that of the Atridæ. The science of finance consisted in robbery, and the policy of the rulers in perjury. The open exercise of arms gave place to the dexterity of the executioner; and all Italy longed for the presence of a pope whose humane influence might put an end to such terrible excesses. These circumstances induced the beneficent Gregory IX., the nephew of Clement VI., to fix his residence at Rome. A. D. 1376. The evil destiny which pursued the papacy during the whole of the 14th century, shortly afterwards decreed the death of Gregory (A. D. 1378.); and the cardinals were unable to decide whether the vacant dignity should be bestowed on an Italian, in compliance with the wishes of the people, or on a Frenchman, agreeably to the choice of the majority of the electors. Two cardinals refused to accept of the perilous honor; but a third, Donato, of Venice, already far advanced in years, was shown to the people under the title of Urban VI. It is said that he had previously engaged to resign the papal crown in a few days after his election, but that he had nevertheless determined to reign in opposition to the will of the most powerful cardinals, whom, consistently with the severity and ambition of his character, he oppressed and irritated by every species of insult. This conduct occasioned a conspiracy, which afforded him a welcome

pretence for imprisoning all the cardinals, bishops, and other prelates whom he suspected. Those who had the good fortune to escape assembled at Fondi; where, on the authority of Nicolo Spinelli, a Neapolitan jurist, they proceeded to a new election and made choice of cardinal Robert, the last descendant of the ancient counts of Genevois. The latter assumed the name of Clement VII. and repaired to Avignon; which city had been for seventy years the residence of the popes, and was now become their property by purchase. Urban put the imprisoned cardinals to the most dreadful tortures, and caused the greater part of them to be executed.

The western part of the Christian world was now divided between two factions, the chiefs of which were employed in mutually anathematizing each other, and in delivering over the followers of the opposite party to the flames of hell. The most upright and intelligent individuals raised their voices for a long time, but in vain, against the corruptions of the church. Henry of Langenstein, a native of Hesse and a teacher at Vienna, was one of the earliest of those who proposed a universal council as a remedy for these evils. The acute and honest Pierre d'Ailly flourished at the same time, as well as the eloquent and courageous Gerson, who was banished from France because his sense of justice was too rigid to bend before the powerful; and the ingenious and benevolent Nicholas de Clemangis, worthy of a better age. It frequently happened that the two popes nominated different individuals to the same benefice; and every crime was readily forgiven, on condition that the perpetrator should acknowledge the authority of the one or of the other. At this period Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti murdered his uncle at Milan, and his own son, Giovanni Maria, fell by a conspiracy: we have already seen how Johanna was put to death at Naples. All Italy fell a prey to leaders of banditti of French, German, English, and Italian origin.

SECTION XIX.

THE COUNCILS.

A. D. 1409. These scandalous and destructive proceedings at length gave occasion to the council of Pisa, which deposed both the popes, and raised the prelate Filardi, a native of Crete, under the title of Alexander V., to the papal throne. This election was chiefly the consequence of the intrigues of the Neapolitan cardinal Baldassare Cossa, whose genius and energy rendered him capable of the greatest as well as of the most mischievous enterprises.

The two former popes refused to submit to the decision of the council of Pisa, and the general anarchy was now augmented by the pretensions of three contemporary pontiffs. Alexander, however, died within a year from his election (A. D. 1410.), and was succeeded by the cardinal Cossa before mentioned, under the name of John XXIII. John was compelled, by the numerous and well commanded troops of king Lancelot, to fly from Rome: pursued by his enemies, and rejected by a great part of the church, he had recourse to Sigismund, king of the Germans. An interview took place between them at Mantua, in which they resolved upon the council, which was immediately afterwards summoned at Constance (A. D. 1414.), and from which John hoped to obtain peace and the confirmation of his title. His ally Frederick, duke of the lower Austrian provinces, afforded him protection in his journeys. Throughout all Italy, Germany, France, England, the north of Europe, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and at Constantinople, representatives of the church, and ambassadors of the emperors, kings, nobles, cities, and universities, were appointed in great numbers to the universal assembly of Christendom that was about to be convened.

Soon after the deliberations of the council had commenced, it became evident, that a union of the church was impossible, unless all the three popes would lay down

their dignity, when a new and free election might take place. Neither of them, however, chose to be the first to take this step. Corrari, or Gregory XII., was at Rimini; and Luna, or Benedict XIII., in Spain; but the situation of John was the most perplexing, who assisted at the council, and became more and more convinced of the serious and spiritual view in which this business was contemplated by the northern prelates, whom he had expected to be able to gain over to his interest by means of bribery and persuasion. He knew that the most solemn assurances would probably be sacrificed to the pretence or to the principle of the public good; and therefore resolved to withdraw. The assembly appeared, from its numbers, liable to those impetuous movements which lead a crowd into acts of violence; the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops present at the council were estimated at 346; the prelates, teachers, and masters of different universities and of the liberal arts, at 564; and the multitude of princes, counts, nobles, and knights, at 1600.

Under these circumstances John took the opportunity of privately absconding, when the whole city was occupied in attending a tournament, and retiring to Schaffhausen, an Austrian town, whither he was followed in the evening by the duke. The terror of the council, which feared that its objects might be frustrated by this movement, was equaled by the rage of the people; and in the night all the Italians and Austrians took flight. Ambassadors were despatched to the pope and the duke; but as they refused to return, the council declared that its decisions did not fail on that account, to represent the voice of the church which they were intended to unite and to reform. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the duke, and the monarch proclaimed him an outlaw.

Frederick was now declared to have forfeited all his dominions, and all claim to the performance of duties or obligations of every kind; he was deserted on every side; and Frederick, the burgrave of Nürnberg (the ancestor of the kings of Prussia), placed himself at the head of a small imperial army of execution, while the emperor contrived, by means of the influence of Bern, to excite the

Swiss against him, by which means he lost his hereditary estates in the Thurgau and Aargau. Such an opportunity of putting an end to the power of the house of Habsburg in this country, with the concurrence and at the reiterated commands of the supreme head of the empire and of the church, seemed too favorable to be overlooked: and the duke was compelled to submit. John, who was publicly reproached with contempt of all religion, with unbounded licentiousness, and crimes of every kind, was deposed, and committed to the custody of the elector-palatine: some years afterwards, however, he regained his liberty, obtained a cardinal's hat from his successor, and at length died at Florence.

Gregory the Twelfth, in the meantime, submitted; and as Benedict, whose obstinacy was invincible, was deposed by a decree of the council, Otho Colonna, a prelate of great wisdom, ascended the sacred chair under the name of Martin the Fifth. A. D. 1414. This pontiff found means to evade, under specious pretences, almost every regulation which the assembled church had adopted for the limitation of the papal power; but the constitution of the church, which had hitherto been patriarchal, if not monarchical, appeared, by the introduction of regular councils, one of which was to be held every ten years, to have assumed an aristocratical form.

Martin contrived, during his life, to render the effect of this alteration imperceptible. Condulmere, or Eugenius the Fourth, having entered into a contest with the council of Basle, the latter set up another pope against him in the person of the first duke of Savoy, who had quitted his government and was living in a delightful solitude at Ripaille on the lake of Geneva, and who took the name of Felix the Fifth. A. D. 1439. Eugenius opposed to the fathers of Basle the authority of the council, which first assembled at Ferrara, and afterwards at Florence, and especially his own personal merits (A. D. 1438.); for while the former had been deposing him, he had effected, at a great expense, the union of the Greek with the Romish church. John Palæologus, emperor of Constantinople, who with many of his clergy was at Florence, gave his

consent to the arrangement; and from that time a party has existed in the western countries, which is attached to the Greek church, and is called the "United." The council of Basle was compelled, by the disturbances of war, to remove to Lausanne, as the emperor had withdrawn from it the protection of his authority. Under Sarzano, or Nicholas the Fifth (A. D. 1449.), the schism was healed by the moderation of his opponent Felix, who laid aside the papal dignity, and died in the character of deacon of the college of cardinals. A. D. 1451. From this time the councils were disused; but the impressions which they had made to the disadvantage of Rome, remained and gradually developed themselves. All the popes, with one exception, were henceforward chosen from among the Italians; they were accordingly better acquainted with the policy of their country, and they founded a temporal power in the territory of the state; but the people of foreign countries became more estranged from them.

SECTION XX.

FLORENCE.

We have already seen that in Florence the class of citizens obtained a superiority over the nobles, which was continually increasing; the jealousy of the parties rose at length to such a height, that it appeared necessary to the safety of the state to entrust the administration to a foreigner; and the choice fell upon Walter, a member of the French family of Brienne, which, during the misfortunes of the Greek empire, had acquired the sovereignty of Athens. A. D. 1342. Walter soon suffered himself to be persuaded, that if he could succeed in depressing the families of the powerful citizens, such as the Altoviti and Ruccellai, it would be possible for him to acquire an absolute power. The people were at first pleased with the oppression of these objects of their envy; but they soon discovered their mistake, and repented of having called in the foreigner. They now began to flatter the nobles, and

many even placed the escutcheons of illustrious families over their doors, as if to acknowledge themselves among the number of their clients; and when the nobles rode abroad they were greeted with acclamations, which reminded them of their ancestors the founders of Florentine liberty. While people were in this disposition, the duke demanded to be invested with unlimited authority; but the government represented to him, "that such pretensions were unknown in Florence, where the name of *liberty* was cherished and honored; that no length of time or extent of power was capable of extinguishing this sentiment; nor could the merit of any individual, however great, render it safe to entrust an authority of that description in his hands: that the remembrance of their freedom was renewed by every public place, by the courts of justice, the standards and banners of their troops; and that he who might wish to rule against the will of the people, would not long retain his power." The duke replied, "that freedom cannot possibly exist where faction rules; and that no condition is more unhappy than a state of public disquiet." The communities were now called together, and the government proposed to them to confer absolute power on the duke for one year; but the people, whose great aim it was to humiliate the governing families, exclaimed, "Be it so forever!"

The palace of the state was now delivered over to the duke, whose arms were every where displayed instead of those of the city: he forbade the wearing of arms, under pretence of preventing the excesses of faction; and immediately proceeded to augment the imposts. Places of profit and honour were conferred on people of low condition, while persons of greater importance were punished for trifling errors with haughtiness and severity: a number of Frenchmen were admitted to the privileges of citizenship; the customs of that nation began to predominate, and the duke surrounded himself with a body guard. The nobles and the citizens of ancient families twice conspired to restore the former constitution: the mechanics, who were suffering from the diminution of demand for labor, once entered into a combination for the same purpose; and the

archbishop Acciajouli, who had at first been a friend of the duke, became a party to these undertakings. These designs, either from fear or avarice, were betrayed: upon which the duke summoned three hundred of the most considerable persons in the city, under pretence of holding a council, but in reality in order to secure their persons while he was assembling his guards: but they, aware of their danger, admonished each other "to die gloriously, with arms in their hands, for the cause of Florence." The nobles, citizens, and artificers, assembled in a body; at nine in the morning, some ran into the great place, exclaiming, "To arms for freedom!" The population of all the quarters hastened to their accustomed posts; the French, who were running towards the palace, were put to death in the streets; and the duke, after having lost the best part of his adherents, was compelled to capitulate with one of the Medici, who commanded the party of his adversaries This capitulation took place under the mediation of the ambassadors of Siena, and other strangers, who were accidentally present. William of Scesi, who had been the instrument of the duke's oppressions, was delivered up, and executed, together with his son: and while the mob was engaged in insulting their remains in the most horrible manner, the nobles consented to allow the duke immediately to quit the city in security.

The administrators endeavoured to fortify, by the spirit of liberty, the constitution which had now been restored by the popular detestation of slavery; and the newly acquired freedom was proclaimed in city and country. A third part of the high offices of the state and the half of the inferior posts, were reserved for the ancient families; and Florence might now have become a happy republic, if the latter had been capable of imbibing the genuine spirit of republican equality: they however soon manifested by their conduct so little regard for the other classes, that the whole body of citizens, conceiving themselves deceived, flew to arms, destroyed the great citadels, and took exclusive possession of the government. From this period, whoever aspired to public offices was obliged to adopt a popular manner of life, and the love of arms and the lofty feeling of self-esteem were lost.

Those citizens who had enriched themselves by industry and commerce had scarcely possessed themselves of the sovereignty by these means, when the common people were inspired by some ambitious individuals with the idea, that the numbers and courage of the multitude are able to command power, riches, and every good thing. Hence arose insurrections, in which the houses of opulent individuals were frequently plundered. As, in the conduct of life, one bad action is often the cause of another; so it was here found necessary to subvert the constitution, in order that those who had been thus injured might not have it in their power to take revenge. The common people were willing to incur any risk, because they had nothing to lose: individuals who had been educated in the peaceful arts, when they were called to conduct the government, manifested less courage than the former rulers of the state, but were more anxious for the acquisition of money and for the conveniences of life. It was through the operation of such causes, that the sovereign power in Florence came into the hands of the people.

When the nobles, by force of arms under wise conduct, expelled the Ghibellines, the state was at open war: when the citizens of illustrious families undertook the government, the arts of peace flourished; and now when the common people domineered, every thing was venal; and the mean yet proud rulers of Florence endeavored, by an expenditure above their means, to procure that splendor which was denied to them by their birth.

SECTION XXI.

COSMO DE' MEDICI.

While the affairs of the republic were in this state, a private citizen, who was distinguished by his liberality, guided at his pleasure the actions of the multitude. Cosmo de' Medici was descended from an ancient family, which is said to have flourished in Greece at the period when the Latin emperors governed in Constantinople, and which, by a series of illustrious heads, acquired an honorable name in Florence. John, the father of Cosmo, a man of a mild

and prudent character, had been gonfaloniere of the republic in the war against Filippo, duke of Milan; during which, the state had in three years incurred a debt of three million six hundred thousand scudi. This was a sum which in that age it appeared scarcely possible for a small state to discharge; and John de' Medici proposed a tax which should be levied on the interest of capital, and which would consequently fall on himself and on the rest of the wealthy citizens. This sacrifice procured him the love of the people, together with the jealousy of his equals; but he remained at a distance from all such offices as could have given him the appearance of peculiar authority and influence. At the approach of death he said to his two sons, "I leave you a name universally honored and beloved, together with an honestly acquired fortune: keep yourselves at a distance from all those dignities of the state, in which it might be supposed that your power or property could pervert the course of justice: accept such offices as may be offered to you, without seeking them; and beware of taking any share in the intrigues of factions." John died at the age of sixty-eight; and his sons, Cosmo and Lorenzo, were accompanied to his funeral by twenty-six persons of the family of Medici, by all the members of the government, and by all the ambassadors of foreign states who were at that time in Florence.

Cosmo was the richest private person in Italy; and 128 commercial houses in Europe, Asia, and Africa, were established under his name. He was not distinguished by external pomp; but he maintained an hospitable table; his house was open to the needy and unfortunate, and was the residence of the learned as well as of the most polished society. He supported almost all the members of the administration with his wealth, and frequently before they desired it: but he kept these transactions so secret, that his son discovered them only after his death. He pleased the priesthood by founding or endowing churches, altars, and convents; and gained over the mechanics by the advantages which he allowed them to derive from the building of his palace and of four elegant pleasure-houses, which cost him seven hundred thousand scudi. The

whole Christian world was filled with the fame of his beneficence, in building an hospital at Jerusalem for the reception of the pilgrims who visited the holy sepulchre; and all the learned venerated the individual who had established a library that was regarded as an admirable one even for the university of Padua.

While Cosmo was thus conciliating the popular esteem, Rinaldo degli Albizi was incessantly employed in the invention of means to ruin him. He paid the debts which had hitherto prevented Cosmo's enemy, Bernardo Guadagni, from becoming gonfaloniere; and as soon as he had thus elevated the latter to that dignity, earnestly entreated him to deliver their country from a citizen who, as he said, was in reality cheating it of its freedom. Cosmo was cited, under various pretences, to appear before the government, and arrested as soon as he arrived in the state palace: the party of Rinaldo called the people together in a tumultuary manner, and having terrified them with false alarms, persuaded them to appoint two hundred reformers of the state. The enemies of Cosmo were not agreed whether to banish or to put him to death; but he, concluding from the alarm bells, the noise of weapons and other sounds, that there was a powerful party in his favor, was more apprehensive of poison than of being put to death by violence, and therefore refrained from food during four whole days. Francesco Maltevolti, to whose custody he was confided, was frequently requested by his enemies, in the name of the government, to deliver Florence from the perils which menaced it, and the prisoner from his fear, by a strong draught of poison: but he replied, "I am a nobleman of Siena, and incapable of a dishonorable act." He went to Cosmo, whom he found exhausted and distressed; reminded him that he was the nephew of his friend the pious Orlando; assured him that he was equally incapable of the base action which had been proposed to him, and of fearing the menaces of those who would have incited him to perpetrate it; and he persuaded his prisoner to eat. A facetious man, a relation of the gonfaloniere, afterwards obtained permission to dine with Cosmo and Maltevolti: Cosmo gave the latter a sign that he should

leave him alone with this person, whom he gained over by magnificent promises, and by a present of eleven hundred scudi made to him on the spot. The gonfaloniere called the people together: Cosmo was delivered from danger of his life; but, with all the family of Medici, was sentenced to banishment for a certain number of years. A. D. 1429. The gonfaloniere was rewarded by both parties.

Cosmo was received at Venice with greater respect than Alcibiades had formerly experienced at Lacedæmon, and was consulted by the senate on the most important affairs. Many of the princes of Italy offered to restore him to his country: but he refused; declaring, that he forgave every thing to his fellow-citizens: and when he was recalled, (A. D. 1430,) he manifested as much generosity as Metellus had shown under similar circumstances.

A year after his banishment, Rinaldo Albizi, who had been summoned to give an account of the abuses of his power, filled the great square with armed men, and compelled the government to adopt defensive measures. Pope Eugenius the Fourth, who was present, mediated a cessation of hostilities; and in the mean time the government summoned to their assistance the people of the Pistolese mountains, who came into the city by night. The communities were now assembled; and the government, amidst the loudest acclamations, proposed the recall of Cosmo. All his enemies were banished; he received from his fellow-citizens the appellation of father of his country; and from the rest of Italy and from posterity, that of Cosmo the Great. From this time his conduct was in all respects more cautious than before: he was master of Florence, while he appeared to be only one of her citizens; and while foreign princes were suitors for his daughters, he married them to citizens of his own country. Such was the origin of the influence of the Medici at Florence.

SECTION XXII.

LITERATURE.

The genius of the Medici and of their fellow-citizens, was beneficial to all nations; and a small republic now gave a new proof that the admiration of virtue, science, and the fine arts, may impart a splendor to the most unimportant city, which eclipses the fame of powerful monarchies.

The arts and sciences have come to us from the south. The countries of Germany were still enveloped in darkness in the age of the Othos, when monks and certain persons of greater temporal importance brought the classical authors over the Alps; but the din of arms soon silenced the voice of the muses. Italy at this time possessed the anonymous author who celebrated the first Berengar; and, subsequently, Domnizo who sang the praises of the countess Mathildis, with several other respectable Latin poets.

When the republics rose upon the ruins of the imperial power, and the paths to the highest offices were open to every one possessed of wisdom and eloquence, Italy exhibited the first example of an harmonious national dialect.

The pursuit of knowledge was attempted in two different ways: some devoted themselves to the cultivation of the abstract sciences; and if we are to estimate genius, not by the direction which the circumstances of the times may induce it to assume, but by its intrinsic merits, we cannot refuse our admiration to the powerful mind of Thomas Aquinas, who was the wonder of his age and has been the preceptor of many succeeding generations. Natural philosophy and chemistry were as yet expounded in a manner almost as mysterious as magic: Albertus Magnus of Lauingen on the Danube, who was for some time bishop of Ratisbon, and the contemporary of Roger Bacon, was the first person in Germany who turned the attention of men to subjects of this nature. Peter of Apone soon afterwards astonished all Italy by his pretensions: he was said to have been instructed in the seven liberal arts by seven spirits, whom he detained spell-bound in a certain crystal: what-

ever money he disbursed, found its way back again into his pocket; and this miracle we need not dispute, since he received one hundred and fifty pounds for every visit which he made as a physician without the city, and four hundred ducats *per diem* for his attendance during the illness of pope Honorius the Fourth. His figurative language and strange conceits were unintelligible to the greater part of his contemporaries; and he would have been seized by the Inquisition, if his death had not opportunely deprived that tribunal of its prey: the holy office, however, caused him to be burned in effigy; while his mistress caused his body to be privately interred.

While the profound thinkers were engaged in exploring uncertain paths through these obscure regions, the wiser Florentines employed themselves in the cultivation of the Italian language. In the 14th century, Dante, of the noble family of Alighieri, wrote the "Divina Commedia;" a work which displays all the majesty and boldness that excite our admiration in the ancients and in Milton: it abounds with the fervor of genius, with patriotism, and genuine love of virtue; and is the earliest production of modern literature which we may venture to compare with the works of the ancients. Dante is not always equal to himself: he frequently offends against the precepts of good taste, and bears traces of barbarous rudeness; but he is never common or low, and loses himself only in the lofty flights of his imagination. Dante survived his banishment from Florence twenty years, and died at Ravenna at the age of sixty-six. A. D. 1321.

His fellow-citizen, Francesco Petrarca, was already inspired by the perusal of the ancients and the charms of Laura. In vain his father, incensed against him, burned his copies of the ancient poets and orators: he was destined to impart to the language of his country the most perfect refinement, and to furnish readers of sensibility, in all succeeding ages, with the most elegant gratification. He became an orator in consequence of the misfortunes of the times, the perception of which had deeply penetrated his mind; and he was made a poet by Laura, a daughter of the knight of Noves and the wife of Hugo of Sadé,

whom Petrarch has immortalised by his admirable sonnets, written in his lonely dwelling near a rivulet in the valley of Vaucluse. After he had celebrated the conqueror of Carthage, Rome and Paris rivalled each other in testifying their lively sense of his merits. In the 37th year of his age he was crowned with laurel in the capitol. The emperor Charles the Fourth found him at Mantua, and invited him to accompany him in his journey to Rome. "It is not sufficient," said Charles, "that I am going to see Rome; I wish to see it with your eyes." The Florentines, by whose turbulent proceedings his family had been banished, sent information to him by Boccacio, that the republic had restored his confiscated property. He died at the age of 74. A. D. 1373.

Giovanni Boccacio was also the son of a Florentine merchant; his relations intended to educate him for a merchant, or a teacher of ecclesiastical law; but nature destined him to be the scourge of human follies. He also began to compose in verse; but when he met with the poetry of Petrarch, he destroyed his own compositions, and afterwards wrote in prose in a style of as much simplicity and liveliness as the best works of the Greeks; it might be said that he brought the muses down from Parnassus into the circle of social life. He is copious, and sometimes licentious; but his Decamerone must always be considered a masterpiece. Boccacio was, in comparison with the Grecian authors, what Petrarch was if we compare him to the Roman; and Constantinus Lascaris says, with justice, that he is second in eloquence to none of the Greeks; and that his hundred tales outweigh the works of an hundred poets. A. D. 1375.

During a century and a half immediately succeeding the age of these great men, the best authors and orators were the secretaries of state of Florence, or of the pope; or the tutors and friends of the Medici. Among them were Coluccio, a Florentine secretary of state, of whom the duke of Milan complained that he had done him more injury with his pen than fifteen hundred Florentine knights; Leonardo Bruni, the first of the house of Aretino, who wrote in Greek and Latin like one of the ancients, and who was

one of the earliest good historians of Italy; his successor, Charles; Francesco Poggio, was the author of a history, but especially of some excellent letters which abound with antique wisdom; and he was one of the most distinguished restorers of good taste. The knight Accialotti was denominated the prince of juridical subtleties, and in his old age quitted his professor's chair at Siena with sorrow, because he happened to have only forty hearers. In Barzizio, Cicero seemed to live again. The learned Francesco Barbaro defended Brescia for the Venetians against the arms of Milan, in the midst of pestilence and insurrection; but the most illustrious of all was Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who was banished in his youth, with the rest of the nobility, from Siena: he devoted himself to the first of the arts, to agriculture; was secretary to several cardinal legates, to the council of Basle, and to the emperor Frederick III.; became afterwards a cardinal, and at length pope, by the title of Pius II.: his writings display a lively and agreeable spirit, and are ornamented with the graces of antiquity.

While the dawn of good taste began to appear in these great men, the Greeks, who were obliged to fly from Constantinople with their treasures of ancient literature, found a welcome reception under the roof of Cosmo de' Medici. The knight Manuel Chrysoloras, now instructed the Florentines in reading and comprehending those writings of the ancient Greeks whom Boccacio had taught them to admire; and John Argyropulus afterwards instructed the son and grandson of Cosmo. Argyropulus was ennobled by a series of illustrious ancestors; he carried his ideas of morality almost too far, when he destroyed his translation of Plato in order that it might do no injury to that of his friend Theodorus of Gaza, which was not so well executed as his own. Theodorus was also one of those who loved knowledge for its own sake, and not from interest or vanity. The learned men above mentioned, with Callistus the teacher of Reuchlin; Demetrius Chalcocondylas, who superintended the printing of Homer; John Lascaris, who was sent by the house of Medici to collect literary treasures; Constantinus Lascaris, Hermonymus the Laceda-

monian, and many others, were engaged in grammatical pursuits; and many were excellent caligraphers.

The first attempts in the art of printing, which is called in the contract of Guttenberg with the citizens of Strasburg, "the wonderful secret," were feeble and slow. A. D. 1439. Guttenberg, who was a nobleman of Mayence, injured his fortune in the pursuit; and as he was defrauded during his life by his associates, posterity also, for a long time, did him the injustice to attribute his invention to another.

SECTION XXIII.

VENICE.

When the Venetians had brought a long war against the Genoese to a victorious conclusion, they began to erect a sovereignty on the continent, which brought their republic into the greatest difficulties; but which in the sequel was the only part of their splendid acquisitions that remained permanently their own. The nobles and free cities in their vicinity, apprehending that they might become as powerful by land as they were by sea, imbibed the utmost jealousy against the Venetians. Such was the occasion of the long wars of the family of Visconti: of a hundred years of incessant commotion, and of two centuries of timid policy. But when recent discoveries opened new channels of trade, and when it was no longer possible to maintain their possessions in the Levant against the arms of the Turks, the Venetians retained scarcely any thing except their acquisitions on the continent.

A. D. 1403. The foundation of this dominion was the capture of the town of Padua, in consequence of which the city of Verona, terrified at the enterprises of Francesco Carrara, sent their standard to Venice by the hands of Antonio Maffei. Hereupon the thirteen communities (comuni) submitted, and suffered their privileges to be confirmed to them by the Venetians. (These people are of German origin: they live between the Adige and Brenta, under their own laws, and are governed by their

great council of thirty-nine, and their smaller council of thirteen.) Since the time when Dalmatian Zara was brought, by the arms of the crusaders, under the sovereignty of the Venetians, several cities on the coast had also placed themselves under their protection: Sebenigo had been induced to take that step through fear of the power of Hungary; and Lesina had been transferred to Venice by the last of its sovereigns.

It was not long before the powerful city of Pisa, which was exhausted by its enterprises, and threatened by Tuscany, sought in vain for better means of security. The Venetians were aware what danger they incurred of entailing a heavy burden on their state, by receiving this great town under their protection; and the question was put sixty-one times in the senate, before the majority of votes decided according to their wishes.

Although the forms of the constitution of Venice were neither introduced upon any one occasion, nor were universally so ancient as this age, it will yet be proper to describe them in this place, before we go on to consider the more important affairs of Europe in later times. We shall then find it impossible to bestow sufficient attention on the internal administration of any single commonwealth.

In the period which immediately succeeded the *serratura del consiglio*, or the limitation of eligibility to a certain number of families, a few additional members, as Mainotto Pulci and Nicolo di Scrovigno, of Padova, were associated with these aristocrats. A. D. 1301. The addition which was made to their numbers at the period of the last struggle with Geneva, (A. D. 1381,) was more considerable; notwithstanding that the exclusion of all foreign vassals had been renewed in 1320, and that the newly-admitted citizens were obliged to make a previous renunciation or limitation of their claims to places in the government. But the ancient families became extinct in the course of time, and their dignities were inherited by new houses. We shall observe the most ancient names, and trace a spirit of obstinate discontent, among the Buranelli, Nicolotti, and Poggiotti.

The election of the doge soon ceased to be confirmed

by the people: he threw money to them, and the senate endeavored to regulate their choice by the opinion of the public. When Sagredo and Foscarini were suspected of avarice and interested conduct in their administrations, the electors were changed, and the people were contented: but when the real ground of this prejudice became known, Foscarini was, on another occasion, elected by acclamation.

The supreme power resides, at Venice, in the great council, in which the nobles have seats by hereditary privilege when they have attained their twenty-fifth year: from the number of those who are between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five, thirty are annually chosen, as members of this assembly, by lot. The right of introducing subjects for discussion resides in the doge, the six superior counsellors, the president of the criminal tribunal, and the advocates of the community; and it sometimes happens that the senate makes a communication. The legislative function, the power of pardon, and the disposal of offices, reside in the great council. A place is not unfrequently rather a sort of ostracism than a reward: the expensive and unproductive dignities are readily bestowed on wealthy nobles, who are notwithstanding willing to receive them, because they open the way to still higher posts; and a mean office is often a punishment to the nobleman on whom it is imposed; because they are not all of the same character with Epaminondas, to whom his fellow-citizens intrusted the clearing of the public shores. Extraordinary places, which depend on the mutable condition of external relations, are at the disposal of the senate.

The elections are conducted in the following manner: In a bag, which contains as many balls as there are members in the council, sixty are of gold: those who happen to get the latter, draw lots a second time, in such a manner as to reduce their number to thirty-six: these are the electors, and divide themselves into four colleges, each of which contains nine members. During the time of election, nine offices are conferred every day: in every college, each one of the nine members names a candidate for one of these offices, the nomination to which falls to the proposer by lot: thus four candidates are nominated by

the four colleges for every office; and the election is at length made by a majority of votes in the great council. None of those who seek an office on the same day, no relations of any of the electors, nor any persons who are debtors to the state, are allowed to vote; nor is more than one vote received from each name and family.

The senate consisted of only sixty members; but it was usual, as among the Swiss democracies, to double and even to treble its numbers in extraordinary cases. These additions became afterwards incorporated; and the chief counsellors, the wise men (savi), the criminal judges, the council of ten, the administrators of St. Mark, the treasurer, the director of the arsenal and fortresses, and principal officers of Bergamo, were by degrees added to the number, in order that the senate might be assisted by their knowledge of business, as well as that the good will of these officers might be conciliated. The number of senators, which is not always the same, may amount to about three hundred.

Every affair that comes before the senate, is prepared and introduced by the college, which consists of the doge, the three chiefs of the criminal tribunal, and the sixteen savi: the college is guided by the six great savi. And thus affairs of all kinds are retained in the hands of a few, until they are matured for a conclusion. The great savi are in possession of the secrets and the maxims of the state, and are the persons in whom the greatest confidence is reposed. The Venetians perhaps learned this institution from the Carthaginians; unless they adopted it, without reference to any example, from the suggestions of reason. Domenico Molinos, a savi, merited the memorable accusation of Marco of Treviği, "that he had filled all Europe with the fame of his wisdom, and gained as many admirers as there were statesmen." The constitution of Venice has this excellent peculiarity; that while those individuals, who are formed by nature for rulers, and whose numbers are in all ages and countries very small, have every resource in their power which can contribute to the preservation of the laws, they are wholly destitute of the means which might enable them to overturn the government. The business of the state is kept so secret, that when the Avogadori have

administered the oath of secrecy respecting any affair, to every senator, it must not be mentioned even by the members of the senate in their private meetings in any other place. The power of declaring war, of making treaties of peace and of alliance, and of administering the resources of the republic, is within the province of the senate: but though that body had the power of abandoning the whole continental territory of the state, it could not make the most trifling alterations in the laws, without the concurrence of the great council.

The monarchical dignity was vested in his most serene highness the doge; the aristocracy in the senate; and the democracy in the great council: no class is in possession of the whole sovereignty, which belongs to the laws alone. All affairs are conducted by the senate; but whatever comes before that body, is previously examined by the savi. The senate can confer no official employment; but it appoints inspectors of the administration, and represses the passions of individuals by the laws: it protects the subjects of the republic against the numerous inferior nobility, without oppressing the latter; because it is necessary to prevent the aristocracy from becoming formidable, as well as to take care that its privileges shall not be confined to too small a number. The senate, with admirable prudence, controlled Venice by means of fear and hope, and contrived, in its external relations, to keep the impetuous passions of the more powerful states in check, and to maintain the dignity of the republic towards foreign potentates. When Venice declared herself on the side of any state, it was more a matter of honor than of military importance, and conferred an appearance of solidity in the opinion of the public. Another excellent maxim was, to live on good terms with their neighbors, but to maintain the closest connection with those states that were by one degree further distant.

The council of ten is the protector of the people against the great, and of the state against the spirit of faction: and since it has to watch over the incalculable caprices and artifices of passion, it is not bound by the ordinary forms of law, but is subject only to the "reason of state." Hence

it exercises less severity toward offences against morality, than toward political crimes. The Venetians have been reproached with being so entirely occupied with the endeavor to preserve their present condition, as to have omitted even the necessary attention to the maintenance of public morals: those political virtues, however, by means of which alone it was possible for the citizens (who were merely members of the government) to distinguish themselves, have flourished among the Venetians, in as great a degree as in any other state. Immorality is indeed regarded, in persons of a certain class, without disapprobation, because these individuals by that means diminish their own influence with the people, which might otherwise become too great; while, on the other hand, a person who has betrayed a secret of state, is punished without appeal, and without knowing his accusers.

The three state inquisitors are to the council of ten, what that college is to the senate: they are superior to all the citizens, even to the doge himself: when unanimous, they have the power of inflicting punishment, but not of capitally condemning without the concurrence of the ten. The authority of the council of ten is independent of the senate: the latter has indeed sometimes interceded with them, at the request of some foreign prince, but in vain; and this is even advantageous to the senate, which, standing as it does at the head of affairs, ought not to be exposed to the ill-will of foreigners. The ten employ, as their spies, a crowd of monks, prostitutes, watermen or gondolieri, and lacqueys.

We must, however, judge of the power of this body from its beneficial influence on the whole community, as we ought indeed to decide on the merits of the republic, rather from the principles of its administration than from the letter of its laws. If we survey it in this point of view, we shall find that the council of ten is the main pillar of the state, and the chief bulwark of freedom: its powers would otherwise have been long ago circumscribed by the periodically elected correctors of the laws (*correttori delli leggi*). Some senators, indeed, with upright intentions, endeavored about twenty years ago (A. D. 1761), to in-

troduce alterations of this tendency; but the voice of the people was in favor of the ten: and while the power of the state inquisitors was diminished, the ten retained their criminal jurisdiction over the nobility in its whole extent. The enforcement of rigid discipline was a task recommended to both bodies: and in every circumstance regarding public peace, the dignity of the republic, the care of its subjects at home, and its splendor abroad; that high authority, the stedfast exercise of which had for so many centuries preserved Venice, was fully confirmed to the council of ten.

The three judicial courts of forty, consist of as many nobles, who must be above the age of thirty, and of whom not more than two of the same name and family can sit in the same court. The ancient civil quarantia determines respecting appeals from the city tribunals, and the criminal decisions of the provincial judges, when these have been pronounced without the concurrence of the council of ten; and gives judgment in cases, the decision of which, on account of the power of one of the parties, would be hazardous to the inferior offices. The most ancient families usually sit in this court, the spirit of which was a constant object of apprehension, because it is older than the other parts of the political system, and was always jealous of those institutions: but the opposition of two courts, which are never indulgent one to another, is advantageous to the subjects; for without some principle of opposition, no republic can long maintain its vigor. The new civil quarantia determines appeals from the continent of Italy and from Dalmatia; and the objects of the criminal quarantia are sufficiently explained by its name.

When the doge dies, all the members of the great council, who are above thirty years old, draw balls out of a bag, which contains thirty of gold: from these thirty, nine are chosen by lot; of these nine, four nominate five electors each; and five four each, making in the whole forty electors. Out of these forty, twelve are chosen by lot, each of whom nominates two electors, except the first, who appoints three; these make in all twenty-five. From these twenty-five, nine are again chosen by lot, each of whom

names five, viz. the whole number forty-five. From this number the lot separates eleven, eight of whom nominates each four, and each of the remaining three appoints three; so that the whole number is forty-one. From these forty-one, who are confirmed by the great council, the doge is elected by a majority, consisting of not less than twenty-five. This form of election was appointed in the age of the doge Marino Morosini. A. D. 1250.

The sons, brothers, and nephews of the new doge, immediately quit the government during his life; and his own authority has been so circumscribed by the *correttori della permissione*, that he is nothing more than president of the college and the councils. He has the privilege of introducing the subjects of deliberation, and may clothe them in whatever form he prefers; but when he has once given his opinion, he is not even permitted to support it, as such a proceeding would be contrary to his dignity; and it now becomes the province of the advocate of the community to speak in his behalf. He superintends the arsenal, the docks, and the church of St. Mark. He gives, in the course of the year, five entertainments, which consume two-thirds of his income, and thus reduce his recompense to the mere dignity of his office.

The procurators of St. Mark have seats for life in the senate, together with the superintendence of affairs relating to testaments, guardianships, and debts: the business of the office is transacted by nine of their number, and the other members are merely titular. Great care has been taken to leave very little power in the hands of officers whose appointment is for life.

The six superior counsellors constitute the cabinet, and are also the ephori of the doge, whose proceedings they have continually under their inspection: when four of their number are unanimous, they may make a proposition to the council, even without his concurrence. These persons are the presidents of the criminal quarantia.

Of the power of the censors, nothing remains but the name, as their office now consists only in the superintendence of the livery servants of the republic: they have, however, during their official existence of forty months, a

sent and vote in the senate; they assist at the criminal tribunals, and succeed to posts in the council of ten, or in the number of the six superior counsellors.

The three advocates of the community are acquainted with the most secret affairs; they have the privilege of entering uncalled, and as often as they choose, into the assembly of the council, which they can compel to postpone the execution of its resolutions, or even to alter them: they can make no arrangements, but watch over all abuses. Any one of the three possesses the authority of the whole number; and their power is so great that Scarpi advised that it should never be conferred on a man of spotless character, lest he should become dangerous.

The senators must at least have attained their 25th, and the ten and the six superior counsellors, at least their 40th year. In ancient times, distinguished ability in maritime affairs was the most powerful recommendation. When it was desirable, which frequently happened, to place an office in the hands of a dependent man, poverty was the decisive qualification; and riches were necessary for those posts which were at the same time expensive and unproductive. It was designed that the richest should be the most powerful, and therefore the marriages of the reigning nobles with the daughters of wealthy citizens were never forbidden. All the corporations possessing independent privileges, which confer a jurisdiction not emanating from the supreme power, are abolished. Many laws have been enacted, since the thirteenth century, against the abuses of ecclesiastical power; and the court of Rome usually gave way to them without contest, under the specious pretence, that such matters were allowable and customary. The government, on the same grounds, cherished the spirit of faction among the provincial nobility, and supported the peasants against the power of the towns.

As the offices in the military service were not distributed by the commanders, the general had no party attached to his interests, and could therefore at any time be safely dismissed or made prisoner. The command of the land forces was generally conferred on foreigners, while that of the fleet was bestowed on noble Venetians; for the sea is

the element, the foundation, and the security of Venice: her territorial dominions are of subordinate importance.

The government incurred but little hazard of being overturned by the nobles, who were in no country of so great importance as at Venice. The commons are also in every respect unfettered, except that they are forbidden to interfere in politics; for the ten state inquisitors are not formidable to persons of this class, but to the most powerful of the nobles, and to ambitious ecclesiastics. The history of the states of Italy is in general disfigured with massacres; but it has seldom happened in Venice that one nobleman has been put to death by another, because many prejudices on which the notion of honor is usually founded, are here overcome by maxims of state. The founders of the constitution of Venice, like the ancient Lacedæmonians, made the preservation of their institutions the exclusive object of their solicitude, and, like them, founded freedom upon obedience. They were unwilling to confer power in perpetuity; and preferred that all officers should be kept in continual dependence, and that those to whom the supreme authority was entrusted, should be incessantly dependent on each other. They overlooked the private frailties of men without sanctioning them, as they wished that the government should be at the same time the object of awe and of affection. The power of Venice is but small, but her perseverance in established maxims is worthy of our veneration.

SECTION XXIV.

GENOA.

Genoa was aggrandized by its maritime commerce. The emperors of Constantinople have been insulted in the harbor of their capital by Genoese ships; and sultans have sought their favor, as the means of acquiring a footing in Europe. Phocæa, Chios, Lesbos, Lemnos, and Samothracia, were once the dominions of Genoese nobles; and the fertile Crimea, with many scattered places in the Black and Grecian seas, were their gold mines. This republic not only maintained a contest for the islands of Sardinia

and Corsica, but early acquired power on the Continent, by which her interests were brought into collision with those of Milan and Piedmont.

The same inconstancy was still perceptible in the Genoese, which the Romans had remarked in their ancestors the Ligurians: and in consequence of this trait in their character, the government of Genoa never became respectable by its adherence to permanent maxims, but was exposed to perpetual disturbances. The people knew as little how to govern as to obey: equality was insupportable to the nobles at home, and they governed their subjects with extreme severity, while they rendered even their tyranny contemptible, by combining it with avarice.

Neither the laws, nor any separate party in Genoa, were sufficiently powerful to maintain a preponderating authority; and therefore the republic was frequently obliged to accept, and even to seek protection, by submitting to some foreign power: but as obedience was intolerable to the Genoese, they often became burdensome, and not unfrequently treacherous, to their protectors. This republic at length forfeited the esteem and affection of its confederates, and its remote possessions easily fell into other hands.

SECTION XXV.

RAGUSA.

Even Ragusa preserved her independence longer than Genoa. The territory of this republic is a line of coast extending scarcely forty Italian miles in length, and from two to three miles in breadth; yet its history deserves a place in the memorials of Europe. In the transactions of the greater states, we are liable to lose sight of many traits of character; but in those of small republics, individuals are presented more distinctly to our view.

The ancient Epidaurus was destroyed by a horde of Slavonians; and a number of the fugitives built, on a neighboring peninsula, the town of Ragusa. The new commonwealth was attacked in its infancy by that barbarous race: but the priesthood found means, on this occasion, to mitigate the fury of the enemy, who contented

themselves with levying a contribution. The numbers of the community were now increased by many fugitives from the ruins of Salona, and the mountains of Illyrium; and the assembled multitude built a new Ragusa, (A. D. 690,) better constructed than the former, which was situated on a rock in the bottom of a small bay, and strengthened by a citadel placed upon the eminence. The community elected magistrates: on important occasions the people were summoned: ambition was unknown, as it was the common and exclusive wish of all to preserve their freedom. The surrounding country possessed but little fertility: under circumstances nearly similar, the Romans became the conquerors of the world, and the Ragusans a people remarkable for their industry. Ragusa was the market for the superfluous productions of Bosnia: manufactures were established, the operations of which imparted an increase of value to the goods which were to be exported; and by these means the city was provided with the necessaries of life, and in process of time became opulent.

A. D. 867. The Ragusans were equally remarkable for their valor in the defence of their city, which was besieged in vain for a whole year by the Moors of Africa, whom they pursued across the Adriatic into Italy, as far as Benevento and Capua. They purchased from a prince of Bosnia their territory, which was almost entirely a forest, but which they converted into a garden. The Ragusans were disturbed by the confusion which took place after the decline of the regal power in Bosnia: but they attached themselves to the Greek emperors, who had it in their power to protect, but could not easily oppress, their commonwealth.

At this period a tower, at the entrance of the haven, belonging to a Rascian nobleman, threatened both the freedom and the subsistence of Ragusa: the commanders of this fortress were gained over to the republic, by being admitted into the government, and they surrendered the tower. The government was now in the hands of the nobles: the assemblies of the people had fallen into disuse; and the rulers consisted of the descendants of the founders, and of noble Bosnians. The surrender of the above-men-

tioned tower was celebrated by an annual festival; for trifling affairs are important to such small republics. A prince of Chelm presented the Ragusans with the neighboring island of Meleda; and they inherited Breno from its last possessors.

The affairs of the city were now in a prosperous state, when a tyrant made his appearance on the stage: Damiano, one of the rettori, whose power lasted two years, wished to prolong the period of his authority; and as the senate could undertake no business without the concurrence of the rettori, it was impossible, according to the established forms, to proceed to a new election: these honest citizens, it must be confessed, paid by far too much regard to established forms, in suffering the laws to be subverted on their account. Damiano ordered the noble youths of the house of Bobali, who were zealous supporters of freedom, to be made prisoners: but they had the good fortune to escape. After this abuse of usurped authority, Peter Benessa, the son-in-law of the tyrant, who preferred the freedom of his country to the splendor of his family, secretly assembled the senators; and it was resolved to apply to Venice for a commissioner, who should restore the authority of the laws. The Venetians, in pursuance of this request, dispatched two gallies, under pretence of conveying presents for the emperor Henry to Constantinople: about A. D. 1210. Damiano entertained the captain of the vessels, and accepted an invitation to return the visit on the following day; but as soon as he arrived on board, Benessa summoned the citizens to arms in the cause of freedom, while the Venetians weighed anchor, and carried off Damiano as a prisoner: the latter, unable to endure his situation, killed himself, by striking his head against the side of the galley. While the people were engaged in plundering the palace, the senate, under the direction of Venice, elected Lorenzo Querini as count of the city; but stipulated that he should undertake no measure contrary to the laws, without the concurrence of the great council.

Dandolo, the successor of Lorenzo, conducted himself in such a manner as to make the Ragusans sufficiently sensible of the loss of their independence; and during

the discontent which arose from his measures, a Genoese fleet made its appearance, (A. D. 1232,) but the factions were too powerful to allow the citizens to send home the Venetian count on board of it. The Venetians encouraged the spirit of faction in Ragusa, restored the assemblies of the communities, in order to turn the attention of the people from the senate, and augmented the numbers of the latter by new appointments, in order that it might contain a number of members, who should owe their dignity to the influence of Venice. Some of the nobles at length applied for assistance to Lewis, king of Hungary, who delivered the city from the yoke of the Venetians.

The influence of this protector appeared to be attended with the less danger to the liberty of the state, as Lewis had no son: and it was absolutely necessary to have recourse to some power for assistance, particularly on account of the navigation of Ragusa, which, since the emperor Andronicus II. had ceased to maintain a fleet, had become extremely hazardous in the seas of Greece; while Genoa, Venice, and the tyrants of the islands, alternately exercised all kinds of violence. The senate of Ragusa turned its attention to the power of Orchan, the son of Osman, whose authority was already so great on the Asiatic coasts, on the Hellespont, Propontis, and at the entrance of the Black Sea, that all commercial nations were obliged to conciliate his favor. In order to reconcile the people to an alliance with the Turks, a nun was induced to declare, that this measure had been revealed to her as the will of God. A compact was formed, (about A. D. 1330,) by which the Ragusans engaged to pay to Orchan the yearly sum of five hundred sequins: this tribute, together with presents for the nobles, is still annually sent to the great sultan; in return for which, Ragusa is taken under his protection, and its commodities are exempt from tolls.

The government of Ragusa consists of the great council, the senate, and the smaller council. All the nobles above the age of eighteen years have the privilege of a seat in the greater council, which enacts the laws, elects the magistrates, and exercises the power of pardon. Forty-five pregadi, who must all be more than forty years old, com-

stitute the senate, which prepares the business to be laid before the greater council, has the power of declaring war and of forming alliances, and is the court of appeal in the last resort. Twelve persons are chosen from among the members of the greater council, one of whom, on the death of each senator, is appointed to fill up his place: and when this body is reduced to the number of four, it is again completed. The smaller council consists of seven senators, and possesses the executive power. The head of the commonwealth is an officer called a rettore, without whose concurrence nothing can take place: but his authority lasts only four weeks. He never stirs abroad, except on popular festivals, and at the letting of certain branches of the revenue; and on these occasions is adorned with a mantle of red damask, with red stockings and shoes, which were insignia of the supreme power in the Grecian empire, and with the more modern ornament of a prodigiously long periwig: he is preceded by a band of musicians, accompanied by the smaller council and the secretaries, and followed by a body guard of twelve unarmed men.

Three senators are annually appointed proveditori of the city, whose offices it is to watch over the execution of the laws, and to see that they keep the strong in subjection, and maintain in security the rights of the weak. No alteration can take place in the laws, without the concurrence of seven-eighths of the votes in the greater council; but the operation of a law may be suspended, on some particular occasions, by the concurrence of three-fourths of those votes. It sometimes happens that, in periods of danger to the state, one of the members of the council makes a speech in Latin: and on such occasions the orator is congratulated by the nobility, and presented by the state with a pair of capons. The rewards bestowed by a republic on a citizen are usually not very splendid; but they are the free gift of his own country, and thence incalculably valuable. Treasurers are elected every five years from among the eldest of the senators, who have the superintendence of the finances. They have the privilege of distributing twelve hundred pounds in secret alms, and of portioning the daughters of poor noblemen: for it is the interest of the

government to acquire the affection of the people; and it will not allow the nobles to become so needy as to render them desperate. Four judges conduct criminal processes; but they cannot condemn to death without the concurrence of the senate: and four judges have the direction of the civil tribunal. The suits of the poor, of widows and orphans, are conducted gratuitously by young noblemen, who wish to obtain the esteem and love of their fellow-citizens; others take care that the city is properly supplied with provisions, guard against the introduction of foreign wines, and watch over the management of the hospitals, the conduits, the armory and other public buildings, the streets, the commerce in salt, the citadel, and the territory. The senate is thus relieved from a number of troublesome details, and the youth are occupied, and acquire the means of honorable distinction, by the industrious exercise of their talents. Three physicians and two surgeons are in the pay of the republic, in order that the poorest individual may easily obtain medical assistance, especially when the plague rages in the neighboring provinces of Turkey.

The population of Ragusa is divided into five classes: First, the clergy are dependent on the archbishop, who is chosen by the pope from two individuals nominated by the senate: this body advances the necessary sum of money for the expenses of the bulls, and by this means keeps the prelate in a state of dependence. Secondly, the nobility are styled illustrious, are held in great reverence, and kept under excellent order: the government is entirely in the hands of this class; the archbishop and the cathedral chapter are elected from among its members, and, in order that the persons of the rulers may be held inviolable, a nobleman can be only conducted to prison by one of his peers or equals. Rousseau says, that if a law has been enacted, ordaining that whoever enters into the council must place his right foot in the room before his left, even this regulation must be religiously obeyed: thus, in Ragusa, the length of the counsellors' robes is so accurately determined, that when Tuberone Cerva came into the council with a longer garment than was permitted, the superfluous length was cut off; and this disgrace affected him so violently,

that he quitted public life, and entered into a monastery. Thirdly, the citizens are the descendants of families which are frequently of considerable antiquity; or of the children of noblemen, either of illegitimate birth, or the fruit of marriages with persons of a lower rank: they are eligible to the inferior offices. Fourthly, the people, consisting of tradesmen, artisans, seamen, Greeks, Bosnians, and Jews, are the clients of the noble families. Fifthly, the peasants cultivate the ground for the proprietor, and receive a part of the produce as their recompense: they are brave as well as industrious, and have often lost their lives in defence of their masters, against the predatory Montenegrins.

SECTION XXVI.

MILAN.

The Visconti, who governed Milan, domineered most cruelly over the citizens, oppressed their neighbors, and were incessantly embroiled with their own family. John Galeazzo, who had poisoned his uncle Barnaba, and received the title of duke from Wenceslaf, king of the Germans, (A. D. 1395), entertained plans for the subjection of all Italy, and died in the midst of a splendid career of victory. A. D. 1402. His son, John Maria Angelo, imprisoned his own mother; and irritated the people to such a degree by his cruelty and avarice, that he was put to death: his brother Philip was expelled, and freedom restored. A. D. 1412.

About this time Fantino Cane, lord of Vercelle, Alexandria, Tortona, and Novara, left all these dominions to his widow, Beatrix of Tende: the latter married the banished Philip; collected a military force, conquered Milan, and caused the demagogues to be executed. A few years afterwards, Philip beheaded Beatrix under pretence of adultery. A. D. 1418. This duke carried on wars in Lombardy, by means of able generals, for his own aggrandizement, while he remained at Milan, abandoned to voluptuous pleasures. He left, at his death, (A. D. 1447), only an illegitimate daughter; and the senate and people again restored the freedom of the city.

The military power of Italy was chiefly in the hands of condottieri or leaders of banditti, who were ambitious or depraved, or overwhelmed with debts. Their followers consisted of people who neither had nor wished for any honest means of maintaining themselves; who were in danger of punishment for their crimes, or had been reduced to poverty by misfortune: they lived on the pay which they received from their chief, or more commonly on the plunder which they obtained from the enemies of the princes or cities into whose service they had entered. We have already seen, in the history of Johanna the Second of Naples, the part which was acted by Jacob Sforza, the valiant peasant of Cotignuola. His son Francesco, who possessed many good qualities, married Blanca, the illegitimate daughter of the last duke Visconti; and the confidence of the Milanese raised him to the command of the army of the republic.

He afterwards took occasion to quarrel with the administrators of the public affairs; made himself sovereign (A. D. 1451); and, having assumed the title of duke, erected a citadel. He died in advanced age, crowned with glory and fortune (A. D. 1467); and left to the house of the Sforza the dominions which he had acquired, which comprehended not only the state of Milan in its present extent, but the considerable districts which have since been severed from it by the Venetians, the Grisons, the Swiss, and the dukes of Savoy and Parma.

SECTION XXVII.

SAVOY.

The dignity as well as the power of the counts of Savoy, was now increasing. A. D. 1365. Amadeus, called, from his favorite color, "the Green Count," received from the emperor Charles the Fourth, a vicegerency of the empire, comprised in twelve dioceses, and so extensive in authority, that not only the ultimate decision of the appeals brought before the imperial tribunals belonged to him, but he had also the power of restoring, at all times, and at his own pleasure, the validity of all the obsolete privileges of

the empire. His descendant, Amadeus the Eighth, received the title of duke from Sigismund, son of Charles the Fourth. A. D. 1416.

The importance of rounding and filling up the vacant spaces in the boundaries of a state, which consisted of distinct and separate sovereignties, and the necessity of diminishing the authority of the nobles who were sufficiently powerful to oppose the duke, were the means of training the princes of this family to an unusual degree of activity and vigilance. They took part in all the wars of the neighboring countries; sometimes they allied themselves with the feeble, in opposition to states dangerous by their superior power, and sometimes in conjunction with a more powerful ally, when they hoped by such means to aggrandize themselves. They flattered the vanity and took advantage of the poverty and other difficulties of the emperors, in order to obtain privileges which added weight to their authority. It was a fortunate circumstance for their views, that their neighbors were either feeble in themselves, or jealous of each other: they did not, however, found their power upon these variable circumstances; but turned their attention to military affairs with so much success, that they obtained greater advantages with their own troops than others gained by their mercenaries. Almost all the ruling princes of this family fought at the head of their own armies.

With all their valor, however, they did not neglect policy. They usually supported the cause of the citizens against the great barons, in the hope that both parties would become enfeebled in the contest, and might thus be rendered more subservient. They took the part of the Greek princes who reigned in Montserrat, against the marquises of Saluzzo, who, from their situation, were the most formidable to them; and in consequence of this interference the latter were compelled to become their vassals. At the same period, they caused the privileges of the emperor over his territory to be transferred to them, as well as the feudal superiority of the bishops of Ivrea over Montserrat which the ancient counts of that country had presented to the tutelary saint of their church. They afterwards formed

matrimonial connexions with the Greek prince Palæologus, who was of imperial family, and had become by marriage count of Montserrat; and thus secured the succession to themselves. During the wars of the Genoese and Venetians, they attached themselves to the party of the latter; because they entertained hopes of aggrandizing themselves at the expense of the former: but as soon as Genoa was vanquished, and Venice was establishing her dominion on the Continent, the green count hastened to mediate a peace, before the latter should become too powerful. In the middle of the 15th century, they established, as a family law, the right of primogeniture and the indivisibility of their dominions, which has hitherto suffered in consequence of partition.

SECTION XXVIII.

SWITZERLAND.

About the same period which gave birth to the commonwealth of Venice, occurrences took place in the mountains of St. Gothard, which in the end gave origin to the well-known confederacy of Switzerland.

The history of William Tell and the men of the three cantons, is not the commencement of Swiss liberty, but is a circumstance which serves to confirm the existence and the more ancient freedom of the old confederacy of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. The internal government of these forest cantons is also more ancient, and bears the original stamp of nature. The whole population of each of these vallies exercises the supreme power under the superintendence of their landamman, and entrusts its execution to a council and to judges, appointed without any regard to nobility, and without a treasury or any other authority than that which is conferred by the will of the public. Unterwalden was at that period divided by the forest of Kernwald into two communities, one of which has carried on wars and made conquests, without the concurrence of the other.

These vallies were under the immediate guardianship of the empire; but king Albert of Habsburg, whose father

had been their protector in turbulent times, proposed that they should place themselves under the hereditary protection of his family, which was near, and very powerful; but they, being systematically averse to change, and regarding this king, who was feared by his other neighbors, with distrust, refused to accept his proposal. The king, therefore, the more readily allowed the governors whom he appointed over the hereditary states of Habsburg in these countries, to be invested with all the authority of the empire; which they exercised without moderation over the mountaineers, whom the king, through ignorance of their character, held in contempt. The people, ever undaunted in a just cause, banished the governors, and demolished the fortresses (A. D. 1308); but neither violated the private estates of the house of Habsburg, nor committed any bloodshed except in the well-known instance of William Tell, who avenged his own injuries on the governor, Herrmann Gessler. Before the king had time to adopt any measures in consequence of this affair, which was not considered of importance enough to deserve much attention, he was murdered by his nephew; and his successor, Henry the Seventh, confirmed the ancient constitution of the forest cantons. A. D. 1309.

After the death of Henry, Frederick the son of Albert and Lewis of Bavaria were elected; and the Swiss declared in favor of the latter. Leopold, the brother of Frederick, therefore seized the opportunity presented by a feud which had arisen between the canton of Schwyz and the monastery in the Einsideln, of which he was protector, to lead an army against these forest cantons; and a battle took place in the narrow pass of Morgarten, between the mount Sattel and the lake of Aegeri, in which the Swiss made so good use of the advantages which local situation gave them over their imprudent enemy, that the latter was totally defeated. Count Otho of Strasberg made an irruption on the same day into Unterwalden, and suffered a similar discomfiture. These warlike deeds were the first achievements which rendered the Swiss celebrated in foreign countries, and gave respectability to the union among their neighbors. The confederacy neither made

any alteration in its duties as a portion of the empire, nor in the private relations of the estates or people belonging to the family of Habsburg in the forest cantons; but contented itself with directing the exertions of the community to the simple object of maintaining its established constitution. By this moderate proceeding, it claimed the esteem even of its enemies.

The Austrian city of Lucern, lying on the lake which bears the same name, and surrounded by the other forest cantons, was seventeen years afterwards received into the confederacy, in the same spirit of moderation. A. D. 1332. The union of all the territories surrounding that lake, was of great importance: the social spirit of the citizens of Lucern, encouraged by the successful example of their neighbors, induced them to accede to the union; but their object and intention in taking that step, was not the overthrow of their government, but the maintenance of their legal rights and relations.

Berchtold Von Zäringen, who governed under the Swabian emperors the territory of Burgundy, (situated at the feet of the Alps and in mount Jura,) had founded the city of Bern (A. D. 1191), as an asylum for the nobility and commoners of the neighboring country, who, from ancient times, had lived as freemen under the imperial protection, but had been exposed to manifold oppressions from the greater provincial nobility. The citizens of Bern early manifested a noble and enterprising spirit, not only in defending their own freedom, which was subject to frequent attacks, but in communicating similar advantages to the neighboring people, who were in the same situation. Bern at length appeared desirous of adding dominion to her independence, and received the city of Laupen in pledge from the emperor Lewis; accordingly the nobles of the country united in a league for effecting her destruction.

In this perilous situation, they received from the forest cantons, who were not under any obligation to help them, the most magnanimous assistance (A. D. 1339); and under the conduct of Rudolf von Erlach, gained by their courage and military skill, an important victory. From this time forth they remained members of the Swiss Con-

federacy, in which relation they were soon afterwards confirmed by a perpetual league. A. D. 1353. Bern formed, besides, a particular federal republic on the western frontier of the cantons, which was partly established by confederacies with Solothurn, Biel, Freiburg, and Valais, which had separate rights of their own, which they were desirous of maintaining; and partly by receiving the inhabitants of the valley of Hasli, the nobles of the upper district, and many other noblemen and peasants, under their protection, and admitting them to the rights of citizenship.

The community annually elected a mayor, officers who presided under him over the quarters of the city, and a council, which originally consisted of twelve but was afterwards doubled. As the residences of the citizens of Bern were dispersed over a considerable extent of country, it was ordained at an early period, that a selection of two hundred persons should represent the community in important affairs; and in order to preclude the necessity of too frequently calling this large body together, four out of every town-district were nominated, to take provisionally into their consideration all measures that might be necessary.

Zurich was a place of great antiquity, which, by the natural advantages of its situation, had gradually recovered from the effects of the disasters that accompanied the destruction of the western empire, and had subsequently risen to considerable importance by the influence of its two ecclesiastical establishments, and of many privileges which had been conferred on it by kings and emperors of Germany. It was governed by a body of nobles and citizens, consisting of thirty-six members; and the executive government was committed to one-third of this number, of which eight were citizens and four nobles or knights, who held their authority during only four months: the number twelve was indeed most commonly adopted at the foundation of German municipalities. The statutes were enacted, the counsellors elected, and all measures of general importance were resolved on, in the assemblies of the community. Party spirit at length shook this constitution; and

Rudolf Brun took advantage of the abuses to which a long-continued administration is usually liable, in order to represent a change as absolutely necessary, and to introduce a new form of government. The former rulers, who were either conscious of some delinquency, or wished to obtain assistance from abroad, or believed that their presence would be willingly dispensed with, withdrew into foreign countries.

The office of burgomaster was now created, and was bestowed for life, together with extraordinary powers, on Rudolf Brun. A. D. 1336. The municipality was distributed into companies, in such a manner that all the noble and wealthy citizens might constitute one body with the title of constables, out of which the new burgomaster and a few others should choose the half of the council; while the remainder of that body was elected by the rest of the citizens, who were divided into thirteen companies, with the title of masters of the guilds. These companies, or guilds, were at the same time societies of artisans.

The expelled rulers, with the nobles of the vicinity, entered into a conspiracy against the new institution. At their head was count Hanns, of the family of Habsburg, lord of Rapperswyl, a town which is also situated on the lake of Zurich: this enterprise was, however, unfortunate; the count was made prisoner, and Rapperswyl destroyed. This occurrence excited the indignation of the other princes of Habsburg, especially of Albert duke of Austria, whose reputation as a politic ruler was very great; and Rudolf Brun, seeing himself in danger of being involved in a war with this prince, proposed to the Swiss to admit his city as a member of the perpetual league. A. D. 1351. His application was accepted; and Zurich thus acquired the assurance of support, and Switzerland obtained a bulwark and a market in a friendly country. It was also agreed, that the constitution of Zurich should not be destroyed by force; but that every state might remain at liberty to effect peaceably any alteration which it might think fit to adopt. The Alps of St. Gothard, and the rivers Thur and Aar, were fixed as the boundaries of the country which the confederacy was bound to protect.

The expected war broke out; but as the duke was now too much enfeebled by age and disease to prosecute it with vigor, it was many times interrupted by negociations.

The people of Glaris, among the other subjects of Austria, were summoned to lend their assistance against Zurich. Glaris lies on the rivers which form the lake of Zurich, and had been bestowed, some centuries before these events, as an estate, on the monastery of Sekingen, of which the duke was protector. But the people of Glaris, who, like all the Alpine tribes, possessed certain privileges, and whose rights had been infringed by some late innovations, refused to take any part in this war, killed the governor Stadion, (A. D. 1352), who endeavored to compel their services; and, with exceptions in favor of the privileges of Sekingen, took an oath of allegiance to the Swiss confederacy. They were accounted excellent combatants; and like most races of shepherds, accustomed to endure fatigue and the inclemencies of the seasons, were much better adapted for the defence of a country, than to form the infantry of a regular army.

The Swiss afterwards took possession of Zug, a city which had been inherited by the house of Habsburg from the counts of Lenzburg and Kiburg. But the confederates were desirous of incorporated brethren, and not of subjects; and therefore the three original forest cantons, together with Lucern, Bern, Zurich, Glaris, and Zug, form the eight ancient states of the confederacy. In affairs, however, in which Bern, being more distantly situated, takes no part, only seven states are enumerated.

A. D. 1354. Duke Albert laid siege to Zurich with a much larger army than it was possible to maintain in such a country. He afterwards induced Charles the Fourth to declare an imperial war against the confederates; but the latter found means to convince the Germans, that no methods of defence against superior power are attended with less inconvenience than confederacies, which demand no sacrifices from their members. The emperor was unable to counteract the force of public opinion for any considerable time; and the campaign, which had been opened with great parade, was feebly conducted and produced no im-

portant consequences. From that time, the animosity of the house of Habsburg against the Swiss, was suspended for thirty years.

The three forest cantons formed the centre of the league, around which all the new confederates attached themselves; they retained their own intimate connexion, and have frequently acted for themselves, without reference to the rest of the cantons. Their union depends not on a common chief or a senate, but on the general sentiment, the love of liberty: every separate state, therefore, retained its own separate and peculiar capabilities; while, with regard to the interest of their common country, they have but one soul. There is this difference between the Swiss and the ancient Greeks, that the latter were of an impetuous character, while the former were remarkably calm and sedate; that among the confederates, the commanding quality was soundness of understanding; among the ancients, a rich exuberance of ideas. Though Athens and Sparta, accordingly, attained to a degree of importance which was never ascribed to Zurich or to Bern, the freedom of the Greeks was lost by the faults of that nation, in a very short time after they had attained the highest glory; while the confederacy yet exists, and will continue until revolutions, external to its constitution, shall swallow up this peaceable government, together with other states of inferior power. Whenever that event shall take place, the integrity, industry, and sedateness of the national character, will either gain the esteem of the conqueror, and await a favorable change of circumstances at home, or it will induce the people to seek a new country beyond the ocean, or in other distant regions of the earth.

Soon after the wars of which we have been speaking, Gersau, a village which had purchased its freedom, entered into a treaty of mutual defence with the forest cantons (A. D. 1359); and though it contained only four hundred men, retained its liberty as long and as inviolably as the powerful state of Bern. This prosperous spot is governed by a landamman and a council of nine; each of whom, in important cases, associates with himself one or two of the country people.

A. D. 1375. The peace of the country was disturbed by a numerous and irregular host, consisting of English and of the vassals of French noblemen: this body had been collected by Enguerrand, lord of Coucy, for the purpose of compelling the dukes of Austria to pay the marriage portion of his mother, who was also their aunt. The confederates situated on the borders, rendered themselves formidable by the successful attacks of their wandering parties; and at length the army of Coucy, having received some satisfaction from the dukes, was dissolved.

The power of the family of Habsburg was divided, and in the hands of princes who possessed a chivalrous spirit, though they were destitute of systematic policy, and of the qualifications necessary to rulers. Hence arose disorders, oppression on the part of the public officers, and exasperation on that of their subjects and neighbors: and hence, at length, that war was occasioned in the upper frontier countries, which was entirely conducted by the nobles against the democracy. It must be observed, that the citizens and peasants had arisen to a greater degree of affluence, while the nobles had been dissipating their patrimonial wealth in a variety of follies. This war was decided by the victory gained by the four forest cantons at Sempach (A. D. 1386), and by the advantages which the people of Glaris obtained at Näfels, (A. D. 1388). The exploits of these days were equal to the most brilliant of ancient history, and left to the nation the blessing of freedom, together with splendid examples of valor: they are still celebrated, and with good reason; for the lot of this people would still be enviable, if they only knew how to die like their ancestors!

The object of the succeeding wars was not so much the acquisition or defence of liberty, as of their dominions. The continual exercise of their arms gave the Swiss infantry so decided a superiority, that, until the introduction of modern tactics, it was too formidable to dread any fresh attacks. The Swiss were never overcome in their own country: and even their defeats at Basil and Marignano were not less honorable than victories.

The example of aggrandisement was chiefly displayed

by Bern, which took advantage of the financial difficulties of the neighboring nobles to purchase their dominions, and of the perplexity to which other states had reduced the house of Habsburg, in order to make conquests. They contributed principally, in the favorable moment of the council of Constance, (A. D. 1415), to overthrow the power of that house in the Aargau: the representatives of western Christendom had summoned them to this achievement; the emperor and the church dissolved the compact of peace which subsisted between the house of Habsburg and the forest cantons, and which had hitherto been religiously observed; and, at length, the hereditary estates of that family, in the vallies of Switzerland, were confiscated. These common acquisitions were, and still continue to be, governed by magistrates chosen alternately from the victorious cantons; and their annual accounts, together with the complaints of their subjects, are examined by deputies appointed by all the participating cities and states. These common domains form an additional bond of union between the latter; but their administration is accused of many gross abuses, and of a perpetual conspiracy of the provincial governors with the deputies, especially with those of the democracies which expose that office to sale, to the prejudice of the interests of their subjects. Complaints are, in fact, renewed, similar to those which were brought against the Athenians and Lacedemonians during the period of their domination. The sums, however, which are given for offices in the democratic states, preclude the entrusting of power to men wholly destitute of property, who would scarcely be restrained by the rules of propriety.

At the death of Frederick, the last count of Tokenburg, a civil war took place between Zurich and Schwyz; both which states earnestly wished either to take the subjects of the late nobleman under their protection, or entirely to connect and incorporate them with their own country; and offered them the rights of citizenship in perpetuity, as well as a share in the privileges of their late master. Schwyz was the eldest, but Zurich at that time the most powerful, of those states whom the founders of the liberties of the country, occupied with affairs of greater importance, had

allowed to hold the first rank. The war took a turn unfavorable to the interests of Zurich, against which all the confederates declared themselves. That state, therefore, concluded an alliance with Austria: but the contest was carried on successfully on her part; for the city itself was divided by factions, and neither the negociations for peace, nor the operations of war, could be carried on unanimously. After some bloody battles had been fought, Zurich was again left to herself; and at length agreed to the same proposals which had been made to her before she had tried the fate of arms. A. D. 1450.

SECTION XXIX.

AUSTRIA.

All the different branches of the house of Habsburg became extinct about the same period. They were all descended from Albert, who, in the year 1352, had besieged Zurich. Rudolf his eldest son, who first assumed the title of archduke and was a ruler of great talents, had acquired the county of Tirol. Margaret, the former sovereign of the country, had intended to declare Stephen, duke of Bavaria, her heir; but while the latter neglected the opportunity afforded by this favorable moment, and was amusing himself with entertainments, Rudolf was not deterred by the severity of the season, from undertaking a journey to the residence of Margaret, whom he succeeded in persuading to change her intentions. A. D. 1363. The archduke died however in the bloom of youth, without heirs (A. D. 1365); and his brothers, Albert and Leopold, divided his territories. The former inherited Austria; and the latter, who had many sons, obtained all the remainder. A. D. 1375.

Albert the Third restored peace and order to the state, which had been kept in perpetual alarms by the predatory nobles. For this purpose it was necessary to levy a land-tax, the produce of which amounted to a hundred thousand pounds. His pious son, Albert the Fourth, undertook a

pilgrimage to the Holy Land (A. D. 1395); while his servants, with the help of the clergy, the citizens, and the Jews, were engaged in carrying on the war against the domestic robbers, many of whom were publicly hanged, while such of them as were noblemen of very high rank, were executed in the night, by drowning them in the Danube. A. D. 1404. This duke caused one hundred heretics to be burned to death in Stiria. He was the father of Albert the Fifth, to whom the last emperor of the house of Luxemburg gave his daughter, and who succeeded to his father-in-law in the empire, and in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary (A. D. 1438); but he seemed to have inherited these three crowns, only to adorn his passage to the tomb. A. D. 1439. His posthumous son, Ladislaf, a mild and beautiful youth, was acknowledged by his people as king, only a short time before his death (A. D. 1458); and with him expired that branch of the house of Habsburg, which was descended from Albert the Third.

Leopold, who had fought bravely against the Venetians, and the cities of the Rhenish confederacy, lost the battle of Sempach, together with his life, in a contest with the Swiss. A. D. 1386. He left behind him the reputation of a hero; and his family owes to him the acquisition of Freiburg, in the Breisgau, which delivered itself, with his assistance, from the tyranny of Egon, count of Fürstemberg. A. D. 1368. Leopold left four sons, one of whom, named William, an active and amiable prince, gained the affection of the heiress of Poland: that princess was however obliged, by political considerations, to marry Jagel, grand prince of Lithuania, by the addition of whose territory Poland was raised to the rank of a powerful monarchy. Of Leopold the Long, the brother of William, we only know that he repressed, by very severe measures, the spirit of liberty in the inhabitants of Vienna. A. D. 1411. Ernest and Frederick transmitted the hereditary dominions of Leopold to their descendants.

Frederick, the unfortunate friend of pope John the Twenty-third, was deprived of the family estates in the Aargau, by the fathers assembled at Constance. His son Sigismund, during his long administration, lost the Thurgau

to the Swiss (A. D. 1460); and, as he died childless, left Tirol and all the remaining frontier territories, to Ernest, the only surviving archduke. A. D. 1495.

Ernest had two sons: one of these was the emperor Frederick, and the other the chivalrous archduke Albert. A. D. 1424. The former outlived his brother, and Ladislaf the son of Albert, and saw his son Maximilian elected king of the Germans, appointed heir to his cousin of Tirol, and married to the heiress of the dukes of Burgundy.

SECTION XXX.

BOHEMIA.

Prague and Bohemia had attained, under the kings of the house of Luxemburg, to a high degree of prosperity and civilization. We have already spoken of king John, who first compelled the nobles, after many years of confusion, to respect order. He retained the Silesian principality of Glogau, and by such means acquired pretensions to the Polish cities of Posen and Kalisch. Casimir of Teschen, whom he invested with the fief of Glogau, together with the dukes of Oppeln, Sagan, Oels and Wolau, Steinau, Brieg and Lignitz, Münsterberg and Ratibon, and at length the whole body of Silesian princes, most of whom were jealous of Poland, placed themselves under the protection of king John: Casimir, king of the Poles, renounced all share in these proceedings. A. D. 1335.

A. D. 1346. Charles, the fourth emperor of that name, was, as a sovereign, worthy of John his father. He had received in the university of Paris, and at the court of France, an education superior to that of most princes of the age. He began his reign by relieving the people from a part of their burdens: and though his necessities were so great, as to compel him to borrow in the city of Spires a sum of one thousand pounds, which he obtained with difficulty, and under humiliating conditions, he seized with such vigilance every opportunity of enriching himself, that in the end he succeeded in amassing a considerable trea-

sure. He now founded an university in Prague, for the four nations of Bohemians, Poles, Saxons, and Bavarians, whom he arranged in the above-mentioned order: and without oppressing his own country, he purchased the Upper Palatinate and Brandenburg.

The Upper Palatinate, in the mountains which extend from the north of Bavaria to the forest of Bohemia, had been mortgaged by the last princes of the family of Hohenstaufen to the dukes of Bavaria. Rupert, a count palatine of that family, sold his claims to the emperor Charles, who was his father-in-law, for twenty thousand marks. Charles suffered a small part of this territory to remain under the dominion of the duke of Bavaria, in consideration of a sum of money; but the princes of Bavaria continued to maintain that dukedom to be inalienable; and during the disturbances which accompanied the reign of Wenceslaf, they rendered their declaration valid by the good fortune of their arms.

The marks of Brandenburg, the count of which territory held the hereditary office of arch-chamberlain, were governed gloriously by the family of Anhalt. Berlin flourished under their sway, in the enjoyment of exemption from foreign judicature and arbitrary decisions; the rivers were rendered navigable, and Stendal and Soltwedel became commercial towns, whose names were famous in the Hanseatic league, and in the havens of the Baltic. John of Anhalt died without heirs; and the emperor Lewis, without regard to the rights of the nation, under the pretence that the feudal claim to Brandenburg belonged only to that branch of the house of Anhalt, which was now extinct, resumed the marks as a reverted fief of the empire, and bestowed them in that character on his son Lewis. A. D. 1322. The latter fixed his residence at Berlin, the inhabitants of which were animated by an enterprising spirit, directed to the improvement of their country and the preservation of liberty. The encroachments of the ecclesiastics were repressed by many popular commotions, and the magistrates were compelled to observe the laws.

After the death of this emperor, the dukes of Bavaria found an indefatigable enemy in Charles the Fourth. He

invested Rudolf of Anhalt, elector of Saxony, with the fief of the old mark; he relinquished his feudal claims over Stargard; and raised the princes of Mecklenburg, who had received Stargard from Brandenburg, to the rank of independent dukes.

While Charles was surrounding the electorate with rivals and enemies, an occurrence, suitable to the romantic spirit of the age, took place, which presented an opportunity of interfering with its internal constitution. A miller named Rehbok, declared himself to be the elector Woldemar, (who had been many years dead), pretending that he had returned from pilgrimage, after having spent a long time in penance. The emperor encouraged this adventurer, procured a party to advocate his pretensions, and called him his brother-in-law: he was besides supported with an armed force by Rudolf of Saxony. Lewis of Bavaria was accordingly compelled to seek a full reconciliation with Charles, upon which the adventurer was recognised as an impostor.

Otho, the son of Lewis, afterwards sold the electorate of Brandenburg to Charles, in order to be able to devote himself, without interruption, to pleasure. A. D. 1373. But the electors possessed large demesne estates in the marks, and the tolls afforded a revenue of 160,000 dollars: the country was cultivated by a numerous peasantry, distributed in far more numerous villages than at present; and the value of estates, compared with that of our own times, was in the proportion of one to ten.

Charles the Fourth united under his hereditary sceptre, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, the Lausitz, and Brandenburg: but previous to the introduction of regularly disciplined standing armies, every popular commotion was sufficient to overthrow such a power as his. This became manifest under his sons.

This emperor, by the advice of the electors, promulgated the golden bull, which was framed by his counsellor Bartolus; to whom, as the latter was not a nobleman, he presented the arms of Bohemia. A. D. 1356. The imperial elections were thus regulated, eighteen years after the diet of the electors at Rense, (A. D. 1338), by which

the empire had been declared independent of the will of the pope.

This prince was also the legislator of Bohemia: but, although he, on the one hand, aimed at the extirpation of many abuses, and, among others, of the judicial combat; and, on the other, paid so much respect to the ancient rights of his subjects, that he demanded military service from them only during four weeks without pay; yet his laws, probably on account of the neglect of some established forms, were not confirmed by the states. He succeeded, however, in circumscribing, in a certain degree, the power of the nobles; and, in cases of wounding or maiming, established the Mosaic law of retaliation.

A. D. 1378. The spirit of investigation which had been excited at Prague by the studies which were there pursued, developed itself under the reign of Wenceslaf.

The difference of opinion, which was prosecuted with extreme rancor, at first regarded only the metaphysical subtilties of the reality, or the mere nominality of universal ideas. The division was afterwards increased by national antipathy, the Bohemians demanding three voices in the academical senate, in which the votes were given according to the three nations. The other three nations, therefore, returned their records, insignia, and matriculations to the king; and many thousand students, with their teachers and masters, quitted Prague. A. D. 1409.

This twofold fermentation was augmented by religious differences. John Huss, rector of the university, a man who was distinguished from his colleagues not more by his knowledge of the original languages of the holy scriptures, than by his eminent virtues, zealously opposed the abuses which, during a long period of ignorance and forbearance, had been introduced into the church. When the council of Constance assembled, king Sigismund sent Henry of Leffo to Prague, to invite Huss and his learned friend Jerome, under the assurance of a safe convoy, to appear before that assembly. The prelates hated the moral censor, and hoped to be able to repress the growth of the spirit of free inquiry; and Sigismund was induced to second their purposes. Huss was condemned, although the Bohemians

in vain appealed to the royal promise for his security: he was delivered by the bishops to the secular arm, and his soul given to the devil; "and I," he replied, "give up my spirit into the hand of my God and Saviour." He was burned alive, (A. D. 1414), and continue to pray in the midst of the flames. His friend Jerome suffered the same punishment, which was justly esteemed by Poggio, the Florentine, to be preferable to that which was inflicted upon Socrates.

The base compliance of Sigismund cost him the crown of Bohemia, (A. D. 1418), which he in vain endeavored to govern after the death of Wenceslaf. With the firmness which belongs to a good cause, Ziska and Procopius, the leaders of the Hussites, maintained the rights of their country and of outraged humanity. Their arms were the terror of Austria, Franconia, and Saxony; and their speeches before the councils, the voice of conviction, of good sense, and of the unconquerable mind: they were at length divided by the artifices of their enemies, (A. D. 1436), and Sigismund was acknowledged a few months before his decease.

A. D. 1439. The short reign of Albert was followed by the long minority of Ladislaf: and after the premature death of the latter, (A. D. 1456), George Podiebradsky, a Bohemian nobleman, and a Hussite, at first without a title, and afterwards with the royal dignity, administered the government of the country according to the principles of equity, and with extraordinary wisdom and vigor. A. D. 1457. The people were in a state of agitation, the joint effect of the spirit of inquiry and the tyranny of persecution; and as they were destitute of guidance, a multitude of parties arose: the Calixtines, however, reunited themselves to the church, as the latter admitted them to the communion.

The high-spirited Taborites resolved themselves into the peaceable communities of the Moravian brethren: their directors received consecration from Stephen, a bishop of the Waldenses, and Fulneck became the chief seat of their union, which possessed two hundred churches. The Abrahamides, who contented themselves with the simple worship practised by that patriarch; and the Deists, who

held the employment of human reason to be the only safe source of religious doctrine, kept themselves more carefully concealed.

SECTION XXXI.

BRANDENBURG.

The house of Luxemburg, the male line of which expired with Sigismund, had previously been deprived of Brandenburg. This country, under the late feeble administrations, had been agitated by terrible disorders: the roads were insecure, even to the deputies of the provincial assemblies; and the lakes and rivers were infested by robbers, until Frederick, burgrave of Nürnberg, undertook, for the sum of one hundred thousand Hungarian florins, to tranquilize the marches. He drove the violent Wikard, of Rochow, from Potsdam, defeated Dietrich of Quitzow, the chief of the nobles who had conspired against the peace of the country, and demolished the oppressive fortresses. Frederick was descended from a younger branch of the family of Hohenzollern, (of whom the eldest had perhaps twelve thousand subjects, and a revenue of seventy thousand florins,) which was descended from Thassilo of Altorf, of the race of the Guelphs. Eiselfriedrich, a descendant of this count, probably acquired the burgraviate of Nürnberg by marriage with an heiress of Vohburg. This family aggrandized itself at the extinction of the dukes of Meran, who had dominions in Franconia, Tyrol, and Upper Burgundy: and king Rudolf, who was brother-in-law to the burgrave Conrad, favored the enterprises of his son Frederick. The principality, which was afterwards governed by two lords of Anspach and Baireuth, was thus formed around the fortress of Nürnberg. Frederick purchased the mark of Brandenburg from Sigismund. A. D. 1417.

Frederick and his successors were possessed of so many distinguished qualities, of so great activity, prudence, and perseverance, that the nobles of the marks were kept in order; the insurrections in Berlin appeased; and the state,

as it were created anew, became of importance to all the powers of the vicinity. The son of the first Frederick, who bore his father's name, took advantage of the difficulties into which the Teutonic order which governed Prussia had fallen, (A. D. 1440,) and obtained the new mark, claimed Pomerania, (A. D. 1464), and laid the foundation of those pretensions to Poland, which were rendered valid after the lapse of three hundred years.

The emperor Sigismund, who was unable to impart vigor either to the execution of the laws, or to his own word and will, thus founded the authority of the house of Hohenzollern, in Brandenburg, while his own daughter brought crowns into the family of Austria. Both these families were descended from the ancient count Albert, of Habsburg; the Austrian branch being derived from his son Rudolf, and that of the burgrave from his daughter Clementia; and both, as we have just seen, acquired at the same period a new degree of splendor.

SECTION XXXII.

THE ELECTORATE OF SAXONY.

The electorate of Saxony fell, about the same time, to the margraves of Meissen. As the electorate of Brandenburg was attached to the possession of the city of that name, so was that of Saxony, by the authority of the golden bull of Charles IV., to the town of Wittenberg.

The electors of Saxony of the family of Anhalt, who had held that dignity ever since the fall of Henry the Lion, became extinct, just at the time when Sigismund, who was engaged in his war against the Hussites, stood in the utmost need of the aid of Frederick, the martial and powerful margrave of Meissen and landgrave of Thuringia. The duke of Lauenburg, and the new elector of Brandenburg, were also joint competitors for the electorate of Saxony.

Henry the Lion had taken the territory of Lauenburg from the Slavonians; and one of his sons bestowed it, as a fief, on the count of Holstein: the latter, who was taken

prisoner by Woldemar, king of Denmark, gave this district for his ransom; and Woldemar transferred it to his son-in-law, the count of Orlamünde. Orlamünde being made prisoner by the count of Schwerin, Lauenburg again served as a ransom: and Schwerin, who had been supported in a war which he had carried on by the electors of Saxony of the house of Anhalt, gave it to them as a remuneration for their expenses. From that time forth it was governed by a younger branch of that family, who expected to succeed to the electorate on the extinction of the elder: and the imperial protonotary Michel von Priest, provost of Bunzlau, either with or without the concurrence of the emperor, had prepared a deed of reversion for the duke of Lauenburg.

On receiving intelligence that the electorate of Saxony had become vacant, the elector of Brandenburg, Sekendorf, sent to the emperor, and begged to be invested with that fief: but it was now discovered that the margrave of Meissen was also provided with a deed of reversion, prepared by the same protonotary. The profusion of the emperor himself, and the pleasures of his consort Barbara, of Cilley, who was another Messalina, rendered poverty the common condition of his court: and the war against the Hussites proved to be the "reason of state" which decided in favor of the margrave. The elector of Brandenburg concluded a paternal treaty of succession with the new electoral house, by which that family which should first become extinct, left all its possessions to its survivors. A. D. 1435.

SECTION XXXIII.

HESSE.

A. D. 1373. A more ancient compact of inheritance, with regard to the estates in Thuringia, already existed between the family of Meissen and that of Hesse. A. D. 1248. Judith the eldest sister of the last landgrave of Thuringia, was the ancestor of the family of Meissen; and

the landgraves of Hesse are descended from her niece Sophia. The parents of the latter occupy a distinguished place in the list of saints; and her husband was Henry the Magnanimous, duke of Brabant, whose family is traced backwards to the Carlovingians. After the death of her husband, Sophia conquered the dominion of Hesse from the Thuringian inheritance, on behalf of her minor son Henry, who transferred it to the empire as a fief (A. D. 1292); in consequence of which he became a prince of the empire, under the title of landgrave, which had been retained from Thuringia.

The possession of Ziegenhayn was afterwards acquired; but the chief foundation of the power of this family was laid by another Henry in his marriage with Anna of Catzenelnbogen. A. D. 1479. This heiress of powerful counts brought the true old Cattenland, situated at the mountain of Melibog, and all that had been added to it in a long course of centuries, into the house of Hesse, which now reigned from the shores of the Dymel to the fertile and beautiful district called the Bergstrasse, where the archiepiscopal estates of Mayence border on the dominions of the Palatinate.

SECTION XXXIV.

THE PALATINATE AND BAVARIA.

After the extinction of the princes of Luxemburg, and when the houses of Hohenzollern and Meissen were advancing toward their more recent splendor, the family of Wittenbach, which ruled in Bavaria and in the palatinate of the Rhine, might easily have become the most powerful in Germany, had not its prosperity been prevented both by errors and misfortunes.

A. D. 1255. The dominions of this family had been divided in an early age; and the treaty which was concluded at Pavia (A. D. 1329) by the emperor Lewis, duke of Bavaria, with his nephew Rudolf, prince palatine, seemed to complete the separation, which now became evident in

all affairs of state. At the contested imperial election, the father of Rudolf was opposed to his own brother; as was Maximilian of Bavaria, in the seventeenth century, to the count palatine Frederick, when the latter was elected king of Bohemia. The countries were separated by many foreign dominions: and the emperors of the family of Luxemburg oppressed the house of Lewis.

Lewis himself, who had at length succeeded in uniting the whole of Bavaria under his sway, contributed to enfeeble his family by dividing that country among four sons. Stephen at length remained sole duke of Upper Bavaria, at Munich; and Albert, of Lower Bavaria, at Straubingen.

The princes of this house have always had the singular fortune to reign in widely distant countries. We have already seen that Brandenburg was governed by the sons of Lewis, who bequeathed to the lower Bavarian branch of his family, whose revenue in that country did not exceed twenty-eight thousand florins, the earldoms of Holland, Zealand and Hennegau, and the hereditary possessions of his wife Margaret, heiress of the house of Avesnes. The dukes of Lower Bavaria reigned in both dominions for eighty years, until the princess Jacqueline inherited the Netherlands in conformity with the law of that country. That portion was left by her, notwithstanding the opposition of the emperor Sigismund, whose power was insufficient to support his objections, to the duke of Burgundy; and Lower Bavaria became united to the upper division of that country, from the ruling family of which, other branches had sprung.

A. D. 1424. This union, however, was not effected without great misunderstandings. Sigismund declared Lower Bavaria to be a reverted imperial fief, and entrusted its administration to Albert of Austria, his nephew: while the four princes of Upper Bavaria were contesting the question, whether Lower Bavaria should be inherited by the first-born or by all the four. The states, who best understood the constitution of the country, and were probably the best judges of what would be advantageous to its interests, decided that Lower Bavaria reverted to the collective family of Upper Bavaria; but that, until a new

arrangement should be agreed upon, the former district should be administered in common by a deputy and receiver. The duke of Austria was at length induced to give up his claim, and the emperor confirmed the succession to the family of Wittelsbach; which gradually arose to great importance without any reunion of the power of its different branches.

The house of the electoral palatinate of the Rhine, however, under active and intelligent princes, attained to a much greater degree of splendor: among these we must reckon Rupert, the original founder of the university of Heidelberg (A. D. 1346); his second successor, of the same name, who mounted the throne of the German empire (A. D. 1400); the judicious elector Lewis (A. D. 1439); and especially that Frederick who is justly styled the Victorious, who gained the battle of Sekenheim, (A. D. 1462), and was the most powerful prince on the Rhine, and the father of his country. The family of Lowenstein, at Wertheim, is descended from the unequal marriage of this latter prince with Clara of Tettingen.

In all other European countries, as well as in the empire, the superiority was acquired by great vassals: and even where they were not sufficiently powerful to establish independent dominion, they were at least able to prevent the monarch from obtaining absolute power.

SECTION XXXV.

SPAIN.

The possessions of the Moors, or Arabs, in Spain, whose sovereign held his residence at Grenada, were confined to the province of Andalusia; and the Christian part of the peninsula was governed by the four kings of Navarre, of Arragon, of Castile and Leon, and of Portugal.

That the sense of common danger was scarcely capable of uniting their power in pursuit of one object, was sufficiently demonstrated when Abu Haf, the Merinide prince of Morocco, united the whole power of the Moors for the

relief of Algezira. This town, situated on a hill in a strong and very advantageous position on the shore of the straits, had risen to the rank of one of the most important cities of Spain: it was defended with gunpowder, and held out three years against king Alfonso the Eleventh; but its fate was decided by the defeat which the powerful army of Abu Haf sustained near Tariffa, on the banks of the Salado, from the united forces of Castile and Portugal. A. D. 1340. The chief of the Merinides had made his entry into Spain with the pride of Xerxes; and, like that Persian in his adversity, fled dismayed in a fishing-boat. He owed this defeat to the military skill of the Spaniards, which had begun to approach perfection. Algezira was demolished; and the plough now passes over her magnificent streets.

The progress of the kingdom of Castile was retarded by the internal commotions, which were excited chiefly by the clergy, against Pedro, the son of Alfonso, justly or unjustly surnamed the Cruel; and which terminated, after a violent contest, in the murder of that prince, and in the reign of his spurious brother, Henry of Transtamara. A. D. 1369. From this period the throne of Castile became firmly established; and its dominion was extended over Biscay, where the Cusculdunas exult in their descent from the aborigines of Spain.

Pedro, king of Arragon, son of the conqueror of the Baleares, acquired (A. D. 1282), by means of the Sicilian vespers, as fine a kingdom as that which the arms of the Cid had bestowed on his ancestors. Jayme the Second, his son, united Sardinia to the dominions of Arragon. A. D. 1326.

Pisa and Genoa had long endeavored, with variable fortune, to obtain possession of this island, which was governed, in a state of independence, by four judges; and would have preserved its freedom if the government had possessed prudence equal to its courage: but the victory of the king was facilitated by internal disturbances.

Navarre continued to be the smallest of the kingdoms of Spain, because the succession of females often transferred it to foreign princes: it descended from the family of Bi-

gorre to the counts of Champagne (A. D. 1234), and from the latter to the kings of France. A. D. 1284. Johanna of France, who was excluded by the Salic law from the succession to the crown of her native country, conferred Navarre, the kingdom of her grand-mother, on Philip, count of Evreux (A. D. 1328); and in like manner, the daughter of her descendant brought it into the family of Arragon. A. D. 1425. The king of Arragon had children by another wife; and the daughter of the princess of Navarre conveyed her inheritance to the family of the counts de Foix. Her descendant, Francis Phœbus, dying without heirs (A. D. 1479), his surviving sister brought the estate to her husband, John of Albret (A. D. 1483), who was deprived of more than the half of that territory by the arms of Arragon, and whose only grand-daughter occasioned the transferring of Lower Navarre to the house of Bourbon. A. D. 1555. Navarre seemed indeed to exist in the vicinity of France, for the purpose of affording a perpetual example of the advantages of that law which excludes females from the succession to the crown. In the kingdoms of Spain, where religious enthusiasm contributed in so great a degree to political events, the clergy enjoyed an extraordinary share of authority. The bishops of this country had from early ages been elected by the elders of the church, who constituted the chapter; but as the king influenced these elections, and the archbishops consecrated those who, in fact, had been chosen by his recommendation, the court had but little to fear from the power of the bishops, which was in reality identified with its own. The popes afterwards arrogated to themselves the privilege of nomination; and the clergy made no objection to *this* innovation, as it increased their collective importance, by uniting them as an independent body under one ecclesiastical chief: the kings, however, lost by these means the disposal of the immense estates which had been bestowed on the church by their pious or artful predecessors. For this reason Don Pedro, king of Castile, forbade the pope, for the future, from bestowing any bishopric or benefice in his dominions; and it was probably on account of this prohibition that he obtained the surname of "The Cruel:"

but the people listened to the voice of the supreme shepherd.

Scarcely any kind of knowledge was cultivated except such as related to ecclesiastical affairs. Don Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, and Fernando Perez de Gusman, were the first protectors of profane literature, at the court of John the Second, king of Arragon. The character of public morals, consistently with the spirit of the times, was chivalrous, grave, and dignified, if not severe. Gaming cards were invented in Spain, but the use of them was forbidden to the knights of Castile.

SECTION XXXVI.

PORTUGAL.

A. D. 1357. Don Pedro, king of Portugal, endeavored to obtain by justice and wisdom, that authority which his grandfather Denis had acquired by his personal merits. Pedro, though frugal with regard to himself, was persevering and vigilant, and beneficent to others; but so severe, that he was more feared than loved; and it has been said of him, that he should either have reigned forever, or not at all, as he had acquired a degree of power which was in danger of being abused by a less benevolent prince. He had improved the condition of the citizens, and protected them against the oppressions of the nobility; and he wished, in common with republican legislators and despots, to reduce all classes to an equality of privileges. A prebendary having murdered a shoemaker, was only condemned by the ecclesiastical power to be excluded from the choir during one year: the son of the shoemaker having revenged his father's death on the priest, was ordered by the king to abstain from making shoes for a like period. Ferdinand, the son of Pedro, who was a less vigorous prince, did not prosecute his father's plans; and as he left only a daughter, (A. D. 1367), who married John, king of Castile, (A. D. 1383), Portugal was in great danger of losing its independence.

The queen dowager, Leonora Tellez de Meneses, administered the regency, in which the interest of count Ourem predominated. The latter, who was suspected by the states of the kingdom, and detested by the people, was the object of a conspiracy, into which a great number of nobles and citizens entered, who disliked the Castilian yoke. John, the natural son of king Pedro, and grand-master of the ecclesiastical and military order of Aviz, placed himself at the head of the malcontents: the conspirators rushed into the fortress, and penetrated into the chamber of the queen, where Ourem was put to death before the eyes of that princess, by Don Ruy Pereyra. In the meanwhile the gates were closed; and in order to try the temper of the people, a report was spread, that the grand-master had fallen by the arm of count Ourem. The people immediately began to storm the palace in the utmost fury; but when John showed himself at a window, they set up a shout of joy, mixed with execrations against the Castilians. The bishop of Lisbon, who was in the interest of the latter, was hunted from the tower of the cathedral, and dogs licked his blood on the banks of the Tagus. In this emergency it was not difficult to persuade the queen to take flight; and her party, and that of her daughter, was immediately abandoned as the weakest. The grand-master, in order to accelerate the attainment of his object, gave out that he was about to repair to England, from fear of the Castilians; upon which the nation conferred on him the regency, and the supreme command of the whole power of Portugal.

The king of Castile approached Portugal with a large army; and the states of the country, who were assembled at Coimbra, declared him to have forfeited his right by this proceeding; as it was his duty to have promised not to introduce any foreign force into the kingdom. These measures appeared to some of the assembly to be too hostile; but while they were deliberating on the subject, Don Alvarez Pereyra stood up, gave it as his opinion that the grand-master should be chosen king, and declared, that if any man, either in that assembly, or elsewhere, was inclined to dispute it, he was ready to maintain his own opinion, and the grand-master's right, in judicial combat, before

judges and witnesses. The greater part of the nobles were inclined to the party of the Castilians; but as the citizens were decidedly in favor of John and of the national independence, he was proclaimed king. In the plains of Aljubarotta, under the command of Don Ruy Pereyra, 7,000 Portuguese, animated by the cause of their country, obtained the victory over 30,000 Castilians. A. D. 1385.

The reign of Don John, which lasted forty-eight years, was distinguished by a degree of splendor and happiness, of which Portugal had never before seen an example. His sons, under the command of Pereyra, (A. D. 1415), not only conquered, at the head of his whole knighthood, the great and strong town of Ceuta, beyond the straits, but the third of these princes, named Henry, by his discoveries gave the first impulse which led to the establishment of a new order of things throughout the world.

Henry resided on the coasts of the ocean, surrounded with virtuous friends; (for to devote his life to the discovery of truth, is virtuous in every man, however situated; and how much more virtuous in a prince of the middle ages!) There he pursued the path which was indicated by the remarks of ancient geographers, and by a few obscure vestiges. Zareo discovered Madeira (A. D. 1419), on which island an Englishman, named Machem, was found, who had been driven thither, and cast away in a storm, and had become savage in the solitude of its forests. Don Gonsalez Velho Cabral discovered the two Azorean islands, which are dedicated to the Holy Virgin and St. Michael. Terceira was soon added to their number; and Fayal was descried by some young adventurers. While Alfonso the Fifth, the grandson of Don John, in the holy war against the Moors of Fez, conquered the Alcassar of Cegu and Arzilla (A. D. 1459), and while Tangiers opened its gates to him in terror, other heroes were engaged in exploring the paths of the Carthaginians, the Pharaohs, and the Ptolemies. A. D. 1471. St. Thomas was discovered in the time of Henry; a settlement was made on the gold coast; and Diego Cane had sailed to the south as far as Congo. The king obtained charts even from the Venetians, of the importance of which they had no conception:

the southern ocean appeared to them to be too perilous ever to become the path of commerce, and the stormy Cape seemed to bar up the entrance to the countries of the east. But the more adventurous hero of Portugal, Vasco de Gama, called this promontory the Cape of Good Hope, sailed round it, arrived in the East Indies, and thus opened an untried and a noble field for the commerce of Europe, and for extensive civilization. No nation in that age was superior to the Portuguese.

SECTION XXXVII.

FRANCE.

The authority of the crown in France, during the reign of Philip the Fair, the grandson of St. Lewis, was no longer increased by patriarchal wisdom and virtues, but by all the methods which the circumstances of the age permitted an enterprising prince to undertake. Philip augmented the kingdom by his marriage with the heiress of Champagne and Navarre. A. D. 1285. He ordained that such dominions as were given to princes of the blood as a portion, should not be inherited by females; by which regulation the consolidation of France, as an undivided country, was greatly promoted. It had frequently happened, under preceding reigns, that the king, on the acquisition of a new dominion, had received the investment of fiefs from the superior lords, who were at the same time his own vassals: and in order to put an end to the absurdity and inconvenience of this practice, Philip enacted, that in such cases the lord paramount should receive a compensation in lieu of his claim of superiority, but that the king should never be held a vassal on account of any of his possessions. The inalienable tenure of the royal estates became gradually established as a fundamental maxim.

The power of the nobles had been augmented by the assumption of authority, in every possible way; and the kings, when they undertook to curtail that power, commenced their operations by introducing distinctions, in con-

sequence of which certain cases *(cas royaux)* were reserved for their own decision. They afterwards spread abroad an opinion, that they were the especial defenders of all good old usages, derived from the Franks; and, in the character of the heads of the commonwealth, the natural judges in all matters of national concern. This latter pretence was capable, under a dexterous and intelligent prince, of receiving a most extensive application; for the most trifling affairs may be shown to have some relation to the interests of the whole community. Cases of high treason, murder, rape, counterfeiting of the coin, of breaches of the peace, and of convoys, were especially reserved to the supreme national judge. The king was at the same time the greatest proprietor of land, and could therefore render his tribunals less expensive than any other: in other instances it might be truly said, respecting the lord of the court, as well as the litigating parties, "that judgment and justice often cost more than they were worth;" hence the judges were willing to pass over such causes as they found it difficult to determine; appeals were continually on the increase, and the royal court became the most extensive in its jurisdiction.

The parliament held its sittings at such times and places as the king chose to appoint; and Philip now ordered that, for the future, a parliament should annually sit at Paris for two months, after Easter and All-Saints' day. Scarcely fifty years afterwards, Charles the Wise caused it to be enacted, in an assembly of the states-general, that the parliament should sit during the whole year; and at another time, he chose that it should never separate until the members of the succeeding assembly should have been chosen. This was the origin of the parliament, which was the council of the supreme royal judicature, and the immediate representative of the king himself. The votes were taken, not according to the majority, but to the importance of the voting counsellors, by the presidents, who, during the vacations, were the only judges. Prelates sat in this assembly until Philip the Long, son of Philip the Fair, confined the sphere of their operations to ecclesiastical affairs. The judging counsellors *(conseillers jugeurs)* were chosen

from among the nobles, and the reporting counsellors from the jurists: their number was indeterminate, and the election was made by the chancellor, the three presidents, and the ten royal deputies. Care was taken to choose the counsellors out of the different provinces, that the assembly might be better able to observe the usages of all. But the election soon became nothing but a fresh confirmation in office; as it was enacted, that no office could be vacated, except by the free will, or the decease, or the formal displacement of its possessor. Justice was never administered free of expense, because the fees of the courts everywhere contributed to defray the expenses of the tribunals; and upon this principle even St. Lewis was not ashamed to farm out the bailiwicks.

From this time the decisions of the parliament served to fill up the deficiencies of the obsolete and defective laws: the olim, or most ancient records, were collected by Jean de Montluc. The kings magnified the authority of the parliament as their own, and readily permitted them publicly to place themselves, in their wisdom, beyond the reach of missive letters, and all appearance of foreign influence, just as the best of the emperors honored the senate, whose power was entirely dependent on themselves. The great statesmen, Macchiavelli and Sarpi, justly considered the parliament as the fundamental security of the French constitution; because this institution prevented the master of the military force and revenue of the country from appearing to be also master of the laws.

With respect to the public administration of justice, Philip followed the system of his ancestors; but he took greater liberties with the property of his subjects than they had done. Besides the produce of his demesne lands, he had inherited the tolls, the feudal acknowledgements, especially those which were paid at the sale of a fief, or its transference to a collateral family, the revenues of the tribunals, and the price of manumissions. He willingly exchanged the obligations of villeinage for a tribute; and even compelled the villeins of the crown estates to purchase their freedom, or to pay an annual tax. This principle was followed by his eldest son and successor, Lewis X.,

who caused it to be announced, "that every man in the whole kingdom of the Franks should be free; that therefore, in the name of the king, and by the advice of his counsellors, freedom was now proclaimed throughout the country, and was to be obtained on reasonable conditions."

When Philip was about to pay his debts, he altered the intrinsic value of the coin: and when the fraud was discovered, he pretended that this operation was the effect of a mistake, and assured his subjects, upon his honor, that he would indemnify all the sufferers, and would pledge the crown revenues for that purpose. Under pretence that this was an affair which concerned the whole nation, he appointed, in every one of the thirty mints of his kingdom, an overseer of the business of exchanging, and of the small coin. These persons compelled the barons to buy or to sell silver at the most inconvenient times that they could select: a refusal was certain to be followed by a legal process; and the vexation became so great, that they preferred to abandon altogether their privilege of coining: in consequence of which the king's money became the only specie in circulation; and this was so frequently altered in its value, as to be productive of universal confusion.*

Philip the Long imposed a tax on salt, which was increased by Phillip de Valois during the wars with England; and though the wars at last ceased, the augmented impost remained. The Jews were compelled to purchase an incomplete security, by the payment of large sums to the king. The ecclesiastics were obliged to contribute a tenth part of their revenues: for the popes, who now resided at Avignon, were in the power of the crown, and were therefore obliged to allow it at least a joint share: and the inferior orders of the clergy were fleeced by the avarice of the superior prelates. The contributions of the citizens were the source of their modern influence in affairs; and the court had rendered itself deserving of them, by the encouragement which it gave to the endeavors of that class.

At this period the spiritual and temporal lords and repre-

* N'étoit homme, qui en juste payement de monnoyeee put connoitre de jour au jour.

sentatives of the cities were summoned under the title of the states-general; not with the intention of restoring the ancient national assemblies of the Franks, but because extraordinary sacrifices were necessary for the preservation of the country. The foundation of the national assemblies of the Merovingians was the legislative power which belonged to the nation; while that of the states-general was merely the public exigencies of the moment. Philip, in order to attach the citizens to his interests, began to declare them exempt from the odious and unjust exactions of power; from the forced loans and military services to which they had been subjected. He recommended his deputies to the cities to conceal the extent of their power, and to make report to him of those who were most obstinate in their refusal to pay the impost, declaring "that he intended to gain over such persons by gentle methods, in order that no disaster might be incurred." Every town sent two or three deputies, furnished with the proper instructions and powers: the king negociated with each class separately, and gave the most positive assurances that he would accept their grant as a favor, and not build upon it any new pretence of right; he adduced the state of public affairs as the motive which obliged him to take the present step, and furnished the assembly with information upon those subjects, in order that each individual might perceive the necessity for the supplies which he was about to vote. In consequence of the powers thus acquired, this assembly proceeded, after his death, to assume the power of calling ministers to account, and even of punishing them; of nominating the supreme governor of the finances, and of rejecting or confirming treaties. They hanged, beheaded, and burned ministers, as in the instances of Enguerrand de Marigny, who had filled the office of viceroy under the reign of Philip the Fair, and Pierre des Essarts, grand governor-general of finance. From this time the operations of debasing the coin, of raising forced loans, and of confiscating of estates, were more sedulously pursued. The three sons of Philip were overwhelmed with debt, and their successors involved in such disastrous wars against

England, that the necessities of the state were continually increasing, and at length the *taille* was declared perpetual.

The prosperity of the citizens had a considerable influence on the mode of conducting war, chiefly by bringing infantry into use: every city had its captain, and every province a district captain. Arsenals were established in the cities, and private feuds among noblemen forbidden, on the penalty of forfeiting their domains. The cities also laid the foundation of the art of fortification. As nobility was distinguished by exclusive privileges, and was itself conferred by the profession of arms, many of the youth devoted themselves to war, collected needy or disorderly persons, and formed banditti, which were the terror of the enemy, and not unfrequently the scourge of their own countrymen.

One of the most remarkable acts of Philip the Fair, was the abolition of the order of knights-templars. A treacherous brother, who lay in prison with a citizen of Baziers, related to the latter a number of ungodly and scandalous practices which existed among them: this relation came to the ears of the king; and as the order was extremely opulent, a secret command was dispatched to all the king's officers, to imprison all the knights throughout the whole kingdom on the same night: pardon was promised to all those who should make a circumstantial confession; but the more obstinate were put to the rack, with such cruelty, that many died from the torture. Their property, which was probably their chief crime, was confiscated.

It is certain, that after the Holy Land had been re-conquered by the infidels, the knights-templars entered into treaties with the latter, by which they were able to afford the pilgrims more effectual assistance than by an idle display of indignation: but it was less probable that they denied Christ, of whose sepulchre they were the guardians; than that ignorant and partial judges misinterpreted certain expressions or customs which the knights might have learned from some mystical sect in the east: nor is it likely that they worshipped a picture of Mohammed, whom the Arabians themselves do not adore under any sensible representation. But their fraternal kindness, their decorous

exterior, and their charities, were imputed to hypocrisy, and considered as crimes.

In consequence of these accusations, the pope, who resided at Avignon, and was under essential obligations to the king, formally abolished the order in the council of Vienne. A. D. 1312. The most distinguished commanders and masters of the order, together with sixty-eight of the knights, were burnt alive: they died protesting their innocence, and invoking the supreme Judge of all the earth. The grand-master, in particular, summoned Philip the Fair before the judgment-seat of God; and it was remarked, that the king died within the same year, after having confiscated the greater part of the estates which the council had recognized as the property of the order of St. John.

In Arragon the knights-templars resisted the attempts made to destroy them; in Castile they were set at liberty; and in Portugal they transferred themselves to the order of Christ, of which Castro-Marin, in Algarve, was the principal seat, and the abbot of Alcaçova the visitor. At Mayence, Hugo Wildgraf suddenly made his appearance in the chamber of the synod, accompanied by twenty knights in complete armor; made a protest and appeal, and none of the members of the assembly were hardy enough to condemn them.

Philip the Fair and Pope Clement the Fifth, both died shortly after this criminal transaction; and the throne of France was successively filled by the three sons of the former, who were all insignificant princes and unfortunate husbands. Lewis the Tenth caused Margaret of Burgundy, his consort, who was convicted of infidelity, to be strangled; Philip the Long was not more happy with Johanna of Burgundy; nor Charles the Fair with Blanca, a princess of the same family. The house of Philip the Fair, which had been strengthened by three sons, thus became extinct within thirteen years after his death.

Philip de Valois, son of his brother, succeeded to the throne (A. D. 1327;) but Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, the atrocious murderer of her husband, the king of England, gave rise, by her pretensions to the throne of France, to a war which lasted one hundred years, and

which entirely arrested the progress of civil order and of legislation.

The first prince of the house of Valois, had, however, the merit of increasing the royal power of France, by obtaining Dauphiné from Humbert de la Tour du Pin, who was weary of the cares of business and of life, and sought to end his days in retirement and repose. A. D. 1349. The heir apparent to the crown of France obtained the appellation of Dauphin, from this province, which had been acquired two hundred years before, by a hero named Wigo, for that family from which Humbert was descended in the female line. A treaty of demarcation was concluded with Savoy.

Philip of Valois was in other respects better calculated for a good king in peaceable times, than to maintain the security and the military reputation of his kingdom, during the storms which Edward of England raised against him. He lost the great battle of Crecy (A. D. 1346); and his calamities were renewed by the still more unfortunate day of Poitiers, (A. D. 1356), where king John fell into the hands of the English; and France was in extreme danger of falling into utter anarchy, but for the interposition of the dauphin Charles.

Charles, who was one of the greatest princes in the house of Valois, inventive in wise measures, unshaken in adversity, and accustomed to contemplate occurrences in their true colors, while others were led away by the impulse of the moment, was the preserver of the kingdom. Charles put an end, on the one hand, to deeply rooted abuses, and on the other, set bounds to the fury of the demagogues: he enlivened the periods of calamity by diversions; and was so economical, that after having, by his prudence, overcome the English, without a battle, he brought the treasury into so flourishing a condition, that a part of the imposts could be remitted as unnecessary. He disapproved of cards and dice, because he perceived that they were in danger of becoming prejudicial to the practice of military exercises.

His generous disposition prevented him from opposing his father in his project of founding the power of the house

of Burgundy. A. D. 1361. The last duke of that family was dead, and king John, who was his heir, immediately invested his son Philip, who had been his companion in captivity in England, with that duchy (A. D. 1363): the latter married Margaret, the sovereign of Franche Comte, in Burgundy, which, according to the custom of that country, descended to females. She was the daughter of Lewis of Mechlin, count of Flanders, Artois, Mechlin, and Antwerp: and as her brother died without issue, inherited his territories. Philip became the ancestor of a family, which for eighty years maintained a counterpoise to the power of the crown, and carried on a succession of severe contests; and even at its destruction, became the occasion of still more extensive wars, which lasted for centuries.

Charles the Wise was succeeded at too early a period by his son, Charles the Sixth, who, at his father's decease was a minor, and passed the greater part of his mature age in a state of insanity. Both these causes of weakness tempted the ambition of the princes of the blood, especially of Lewis of Orleans, and John the son of Philip of Burgundy. Valentina Visconti, wife of the former, whose pretensions to Milan gave rise a century later, to wars of sixty years' duration, contributed especially to inflame the animosity of these parties. A. D. 1404. The duke of Orleans was murdered; and fifteen years afterwards (A. D. 1419), Charles obtained revenge on the Burgundians, by the assistance of the dauphin. But an alliance was formed between Philip the Second of Burgundy and Henry the Fifth of England, against Charles the Seventh, who had succeeded to his father. A. D. 1415. Henry having gained a splendid victory over the French, in the field of Agincourt, was proclaimed king of France, in Paris, with the consent of the old king; and the dauphin, to whom, on his accession, nothing remained but Orleans, wandered about like an outlaw.

SECTION XXXVIII.

BURGUNDY.

A. D. 1440. The first duke of Burgundy, at his death, was possessed of the most extensive dominions; but so destitute of money, that his widow, according to the custom of the country, laid his keys, purse, and girdle, upon his grave, in the first twenty-four hours, as a token that she renounced that portion of his territories, which was neither a fief nor a part of her own inheritance. Her son John, who distinguished himself by his undaunted valor in the Turkish wars, and who would have been a great man if he could have controlled his passions, married Margaret of Bavaria; and by that connection conferred on his family pretensions which were afterwards employed for the acquisition of Holland, Zealand, and Hennegau.

With the exception of Italy, the Netherlands at this period surpassed all the other countries of Europe in industry, population, and opulence: Lyons alone contained 150,000 manufacturers. The source of this prosperity was freedom: the sovereign of the country levied certain fixed imposts from the people and estates; and the proportion of each individual was settled anew every fourth year. The states were allowed to grant extraordinary subsides on occasions of emergency; and the prince frequently paid a visit to the cities previously to such demands, in order to incline the inhabitants to his wishes. The taxes were soon imposed on articles of consumption, or on property, in land or money. The people of the Netherlands united to their commercial spirit the love and the practice of arms: a bloody battle took place between Ypres and Poperinguen, because the people of the latter imitated the cloths made in the former; and a civil war was carried on in the streets of Ghent, in which the cloth-makers, James Artavelle, and Gerhard Dionisy, defeated the fullers and dyers, who fought under John Bacon. Dendermond fought against Ghent, which destroyed its manufactories. Artavelle, by his alliance with Edward king of England,

contributed to excite the hundred years' war with France; and his son Philip, at the head of the citizens, fought in the field against Charles the Sixth, and Philip the First of Burgundy.

A. D. 1419. The power of Burgundy was never more considerable than under Philip the Good, son of John, who was duke of Burgundy, lord of Franche Comte, count of Artois and Flanders, margrave of Antwerp, and lord of the town of Mechlin. He purchased the county of Namur; became duke of Lothier, Brabant, and Limburg, by the death of a prince of his own name; he partly inherited from his mother, and partly purchased the earldoms of Holland, Zealand, and Hennegau; and acquired the duchy of Luxemburg by compact. For many years he carried on, with ability, as well as courage, a contest against Charles the Seventh, in revenge for the death of his father; and as soon as he quitted the alliance of the English, France was saved. Charles was glad to purchase peace, by mortgaging to him the towns situated on the Somme (A. D. 1435); and Philip perceived that it would conduce more to his interest to govern his own dominions in tranquillity, than to persevere in an alliance which was odious to the nation.

Charles of Orleans, son of the hereditary enemy of Burgundy, was a prisoner in his hands; and Philip generously restored him to freedom, and gave him his own niece in marriage. In like manner he set at liberty Renatus of Anjou, the titular king of Naples and count of Provence, almost without ransom.

Philip founded his authority on good order and the happiness of his people. He instituted a well-organised government: he was a beneficent patron of intelligent men; acquired the love of the citizens by his popular manners; surrounded himself with an imposing magnificence; forgave insurrections because he did not fear them; exercised the nobles in military practices, and treated them with due respect, while he kept them under strict discipline. He would not allow them to intermarry with the citizens, because such a practice might have produced consequences dangerous to princely power: the noble families were

arranged in catalogues; and heralds at arms watched over trifling circumstances, which he knew how to render of importance to his government. He at the same time endeavored, by the introduction of rules of politeness, to civilize the knights, and to inspire them with reverence for their lords: he raised the most distinguished to a rank that placed them nearer to himself, by the order of the golden fleece; but he caused the valiant and powerful John of Granson to be put to death, on learning that he had acted in a manner incompatible with his duty. The court of Philip was the most brilliant in the west of Europe; his rank was next to the royal dignity; he was revered by all princes, and by the eastern nations as the "great duke of the west." After an administration of nearly fifty years, he left a state such as we may imagine the land of promise to have been in its happiest period. His vessels of silver and of gold were valued at upwards of two millions.

Charles the Seventh succeeded in restoring the monarchy of France. The English, who wished to appropriate that dignity to themselves, forfeited the prize of their victories. Talbot was driven out of Guienne; the proud and restless spirit of the family of Britanny was subdued; and Lorraine, the dukes of which were on all sides most threatened by those of Burgundy, attached themselves to the party of the king. Charles prepared the way for the improvement of all the arts of peace and of war, which are the genuine sources whence national greatness springs.

SECTION XXXIX.

ENGLAND.

A. D. 1272. The love of freedom had so much increased in England, under the feeble administrations of John and of Henry the Third, that their more active successor, Edward the First, was scarcely able to keep it within bounds: this king confirmed his authority in Ireland, defeated and subjected the Britons of Wales, and was the terror of the Scots.

His son, Edward the Second, who was too much devoted to his favorites, became the victim of his own weakness, and of the cruelty of his perfidious wife. A. D. 1307.

The latter was the mother of Edward the Third, the conqueror of France. A. D. 1327. His conquests, however, were not permanent: and the valor and lofty spirit with which his good fortune inspired the English, was the noblest fruits of his victories. If that nation had possessed a sufficiently perfect system of laws, their valor would have been formidable only to their enemies: but Richard the Second, son of the Black Prince, who gained the victory of Poitiers, and who died before his father, was unable to keep them within the bounds of obedience; and lost his throne and life through the rebellion of Henry of Bolingbroke. A. D. 1377.

A. D. 1399. This Henry, the son of John of Gaunt, who was the third son of Edward, did not succeed to the crown in his father's right; because Edward Mortimer, earl of March, and husband of Philippa of Clarence, would have taken precedence of him in that line; but deduced his title from his mother, and, through her, from Edmund of Lancaster, who was the son of Henry the Third, and elder than Edward the First. From these claims arose a contest, which lasted upwards of eighty years, between the rival families of York and Lancaster, the partisans of which were distinguished by the white and the red rose, as their respective emblems. The flame of discord, sometimes almost smothered, and at others breaking out with new fury, brought destruction upon the royal family, and on almost the whole of the nobility of higher rank.

The national freedom was not infringed upon by the great Edwards; who depended, for support in their splendid enterprises, on the affection and contributions of the people. The industry of the citizens was the chief source of revenue; the king, who was master of the coasts and havens, exacted a toll on the export of the staple commodities, wool and hides, and the third penny for every pound of foreign goods, while strangers were obliged to pay a still heavier tax at the chief custom-house. The imposts

which the nation granted, were the twelfth penny from such objects of commerce as were not staple commodities, or a fifteenth from the revenues of the towns, which might amount to about thirty thousand pounds sterling. There was an addition of two shillings upon every cask of wine imported, the greater part of which was from France. The tax on every hydage of land, and the imposts on the towns and villages, were denominated the great subsidy; and produced, at the rate of four shillings on land, and two shillings and six-pence on moveables, seventy thousand pounds sterling: this tax, on land only, produces in our times two millions annually; and as the quantity of gold and silver in circulation is not more than ten times as great as in those days, 1,300,000*l.* of the above sum have been produced by the improvement of the country. The annual export, soon after the battle of Crecy, amounted to 294,184*l.*; of which 189,900*l.* consisted of unmanufactured wool, and only 9,548*l.* of coarse cloths: on the other hand, the value of the goods imported was 38,970*l.*, of which 10,900*l.*, consisted of fine cloths. The Flemings were the people who enriched themselves at the expense of their ignorant neighbors. The taxes were voted by the representatives of the cities and other communities, with the concurrence of the barons, and (by sufferance of the other houses) of an assembly of ecclesiastics. A parliament was held every year: the districts and boroughs allowed their representatives stipends; for which reason the sessions were probably shorter. There was no duke in the upper house, until the time of the hero of Poitiers, to whom his father gave the title of duke of Cornwall: before Edward the Third, the kings themselves bore the ducal title of Normandy; but that king dropped the claim to the duchy on account of his pretension to the sovereignty of France. All titles referred either to territorial possessions or to dignity: as a seat in the upper house was conferred not by birth but by the possession of an estate, the constitution of parliament was entirely representative: but this part of the institution was soon altered when the citizens began to acquire possession, by their wealth, of the seats of noblemen. The importance of the parliament of

England, like that of the states-general of France, was owing to the public necessities.

The maxim was now traced, that the king is under the law; because, by it, he sits on the throne to impart to the law that which he receives from it, viz. authority and effective power. The judicial office was divided, under Edward the First, into three branches: first, the eldest tribunal, or court of King's Bench; second, the Norman tribunal, or court of Exchequer, for the affairs of the crown estates; and, third, the court of Common Pleas, which had been restored by the Magna Charta, and in which, since the beginning of the reign of Edward the Second, all transactions are recorded and published. The English jurists rescued the nation from the yoke of the civil and ecclesiastical laws of Rome; and even the provincial synods, and the decrees of papal legates, were not allowed to invalidate the legal customs of the country.

The heavier the taxes which the people are able to pay, the greater the resources of the king for enterprises: and, on this principle, the chief object of policy with the Edwards was to increase the prosperity of the nation. They encouraged industry, and removed the obstacles to its progress; facilitated the transfer, and secured the possession of property. Even in the thirteenth century, they attempted to induce industrious strangers to settle in the country; and in the fourteenth, the products of foreign lands could be dispensed with: the importation of cloths manufactured abroad was prohibited; and, according to the testimony of learned historians, Edward the Third forbade the export of unmanufactured wool, in order to confine its manufacture to the English. The spirit of the navigation act is apparent in the regulation of Richard the Second, that English ships should at least be preferred. The magnificence of this sovereign, and of his barons, is a proof that the kingdom contained a great quantity of gold and silver plate: their opulence was in fact greater than their knowledge of the manifold uses to which wealth can be applied.

This was altogether a happy period for England, since the nation was as free as was necessary to its prosperity,

and was as much devoted to industry and commerce as was compatible with the military spirit connected with its security and magnanimity of character. The princes of the house of Valois were scarcely able to support their tottering throne; and the haughty chiefs who ruled behind their lofty Snowdon, over the descendants of the ancient Kymri, bent their hitherto unconquered necks to the yoke of the victorious Edward, who ordered the bards to be extirpated, that they might no longer remind their countrymen of their ancient independence; and that the patriotic songs of Merlin and Taliessin might be buried in oblivion: but he left the people in possession of their civil rights. Edward also destroyed, as far as was in his power, the historical monuments of the Scots, which fostered their desire of national independence.

SECTION XL.

SCOTLAND.

The crown of Scotland was contested by Robert Bruce and John Baliol, the latter of whom placed himself under the protection of Edward. The noble Wallace summoned the peasants of Clydesdale: and his enthusiasm soon succeeded in assembling the warriors of the valleys and islands in the cause of king Robert and of Scotland, which became victorious; though not till after the death of Edward.

From this period the names of the heroes of Scotland, which hitherto had remained hidden in the mists of their native hills, begin to shine in history. Among them we remark James Douglass, the friend of Robert Bruce, and the ancestor of an heroic race, who had a parliament in his own dominions, bestowed knighthood, and fought at the head of two thousand men in a family feud against the Percys, and defended his country against England; Gilbert Hamilton, who insulted the pride of Le Despencer, the favorite of Edward the Second, in that monarch's presence; James Mount Stewart, the son of king Robert; and the Campbells and Macaulys.

The Hebrides, a short time before, had been partly conquered and partly purchased from the kings of Norway: the Mac Dougals of Lorn, first-born of Argyle, were lords of Argyle, Mull, and the northern islands; and the Mac Donalds were their younger brothers. The great Mac Donald, the lord of the isles, who governed Sodor, or the southern islands, resided in Iona: he received the homage of his vassals, seated on a rock in the lake of Ilay; and thirteen judges under his authority decided the suits of the people at Na Corlle, and were rewarded with a tax amounting to a tenth of the disputed sum. The great Mac Donald rendered himself independent in Sodor; and joined the party of the English against the Scots.

A. D. 1422. The fifteenth century brought with it in the British isles, as the fourteenth had done in France, an interruption to the progress of national prosperity, through the rage of factions. Even the history of these periods is less to be relied on: every thing is more or less enveloped in obscurity. We shall only observe, that after Henry the Fourth had seated the family of Lancaster on the throne, and Henry the Fifth, by his victory at Agincourt, and by the advantage which he took of the dissensions of France, had raised his people to the pinnacle of military glory, the country was abandoned, under the protracted administration of the gentle Henry the Sixth (A. D. 1461), to the most dreadful excesses of faction, until its reputation abroad and good order at home were utterly destroyed, and the imbecile monarch forfeited both his throne and life. A. D. 1471.

SECTION XLI.

SCANDINAVIA.

The race of Woden became extinct in Sweden in the twelfth century; and in the fourteenth, the houses of the deified heroes of Denmark and Norway expired in the persons of Woldemar and Olaf. Margaret, who was daughter of the former, mother of the latter, and heiress of both, defeated Albert of Mecklenburg, king of Sweden, com-

pelled him to abandon his crown, and united the three kingdoms of Scandinavia by the league of Calmar. A. D. 1398. Had she been capable of conquering national prejudices as well as armies, her dominions would have constituted a great and powerful monarchy.

But the passions of her people were too powerful for her policy: and it was perhaps better that these three nations should remain in the tranquil possession of freedom, than that they should become formidable to the inhabitants of southern Europe. Margaret died without issue: her cousin and successor Erich, of the family of the dukes of Pomerania, was expelled from the three kingdoms (A. D. 1439); upon which Denmark invited Christopher, a duke of Bavaria, who was also acknowledged by Sweden and Norway.

A. D. 1448. After the death of Christopher, the crown of Denmark and Norway fell into the possession of that family which still retains the sovereignty.

The title of count or earl was introduced into Amerland and Rustringia in the time of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa: King Harold of Denmark had abandoned this district to the son of Charlemain: Laringia, in which Delmenhorst is situated, was conquered from the Friezelanders: Sibbet Papinga, and other district chiefs, placed themselves voluntarily under the protection of the earls, of whose dominion Oldenburg was the seat. Earl Gerhard intoxicated Hajo, its feudal lord, and obtained by artifice the domain of Barel. Earl Dietrich united Delmenhorst and Oldenburg by inheritance: this nobleman had two sons by Hedwig, sister of the last earl of Holstein, one of whom, Gerhard, succeeded him in Holstein, and the other, Christian, became king of Denmark, and contended with Charles Knutson and Steno Sture for the crown of Sweden.

This was the origin of the house of Oldenburg, which now governs a large portion of the earth: the descendants of that venerable race, which formerly considered it a great conquest to rescue from the waves, by means of dykes, a tract of land on the shores of the sea of Oldenburg; and which in those days held the reins of a gentle government over a free people, now domineers over all Scandinavia and from the frontiers of Holland to those of China.

The counts of Holstein, of the house of Schaumburg, bequeathed their fertile country, in which agriculture and pasturage is advantageously alternated on the same spot, to the sons of the princess Hedwig. A. D. 1459. The states of the country declared in favor of Christian, who promised to bestow the fiefs on native noblemen: he confirmed the clergy and the knights in their exemption from tolls and taxes: he promised to leave the country, whenever he should be absent in Denmark or elsewhere, under the administration of the bishops of Lubeck and Sleswick, with the assistance of a council of five respectable landholders. In his reign, Holstein became a dukedom.

SECTION XLII.

POLAND.

A. D. 1295. Poland, which had become a kingdom since Przemysi, after the extinction of the dukes of Dantzic, had felt himself strong enough to wear a crown, was engaged in war with the kings of Bohemia, who laid claim to the feudal superiority of Cracow, with the dukes of Stettin, who wished to inherit the domains of the Dantzic branch, with the electors of Brandenburg, who asserted themselves to be lords paramount of Pomerania, against the ambitious views of the Teutonic knights in Prussia; and, finally, in a severe contest with the restless spirit of the nobles at home. Dantzic was preserved, and at the extinction of the royal family of Bohemia (A. D. 1311), Cracow remained to Poland; but Silesia was abandoned to the house of Luxemburg.

The race of the Piasts, who in the course of five hundred years had raised Poland to a certain degree of civilization and to considerable power, expired with Casimir the Great (A. D. 1370), who was a conqueror and legislator, and the founder of the university of Cracow. He was succeeded in his dignity by his sister's son, Lewis of Anjou, king of Hungary, who was also justly surnamed the

Great, and whose father had given up Red Russia to Poland for the prospect of the succession.

A. D. 1382. Lewis, however, had no sons: the husband of his eldest daughter Maria, was Sigismund of Luxemburg, who obtained the kingdom of Hungary; and Hedwig, or the Poles, neglected to insist on the compact by which king Lewis endeavored to secure the permanent union of his crowns. Hedwig not only retained the sovereignty of Poland, together with that of Volhynia and Red Russia, but also gave her hand to Jagel, the grand prince of Lithuania, who, together with all his people, adopted the Christian faith (A. D. 1386); and from that period the kingdom of Poland arose to the greatest importance.

Dantzig usually freighted three hundred ships with corn for England, the Netherlands, and France; and even Constantinople frequently received supplies from Poland. Dantzig owed its elevation chiefly to the change which had taken place in the Vistula; for the bed of that stream became gradually choked up to such a degree, that the towns which were situated farther inland, not excepting Culm, the original seat of the commerce of that river, were obliged to yield the palm to Dantzig, which lay nearer to the sea.

A. D. 1410. King Wladislaf Jagel, in the battle of Tanereberg, gave the first blow to the power of the Teutonic knights. In other respects, uniformity of religion appeared, to this newly converted prince, to be necessary to his power; and hence he proceeded with the utmost severity against pagans and heretics: he enacted, however, that no man should be included in this number without investigation.

A. D. 1437. His son, Vladislaf, was elected king by the people of Hungary, in consequence of which that kingdom and Poland became again united under one head: but this young prince lost his life when scarcely twenty years old, in the battle of Varna, against sultan Morad. A. D. 1444.

Casimir, the brother of the younger Vladislaf, and his successor on the throne of Poland, was one of the greatest princes of his age, and was frequently invited by the Hun

garians and Bohemians to become their sovereign. A. D. 1466. He aggrandized Poland in a long contest with the Teutonic knights, in the course of which he acquired Polish Prussia, and the feudal superiority over the rest of the Prussian territory. The latter countries were extremely flourishing in that age: but the Teutonic knights disregarding the rights of their own subjects, and insulting the neighboring princes by their arrogance, their conduct excited internal discontent, and facilitated the enterprise of Casimir. Polish Prussia retained its own diets, its accustomed laws, judicial forms, and coinage; and the deputies of this country gave their vote in the regal elections. The mighty Casimir reigned nearly half a century, and saw Vladislaf, one of his sons, seated on the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary.

SECTION XLIII.

HUNGARY.

In the commencement of the fourteenth century, the family of Arpad, the chieftain who, four hundred years before, had first conducted the Hungarians into the country which they now occupied, expired in the person of Andrew III. A. D. 1301. Several parties endeavored to introduce different princes to the sovereignty; and the throne remained for many years in a tottering state, until Charles Robert of Anjou, of the royal family of Naples imparted a new splendor to the kingdom by the wisdom and vigor of his long administration (A. D. 1310), and prepared for his son Lewis an era of distinguished good fortune and glory. A. D. 1343. Lewis died, after a reign of forty years (A. D. 1382), just at the era when the arms of the Ottomans began to menace the frontiers; and Hungary had now the misfortune to become again the prey of raging factions, and at last to obtain (A. D. 1386), in Sigismund, an enterprising king, who was a foreigner and a lawless tyrant. Sigismund maintained his throne during half a century, but rather by compliance than vigor: and

though he was defeated by the Turks in the battle of Nicopolis, yet Hungary remained untouched, because the neighboring government of Turkey was rendered more peaceable; at first by misfortunes, and afterwards by the pacific character of less ambitious sultans.

We have already seen that the reign of Albert of Austria was very short, and that after his death (A. D. 1437), and during Ladislaf's feeble minority (A. D. 1439), king Vladislaf governed both Poland and Hungary, until the fatal day of Varna. A. D. 1444. The courage and intelligence of John Hunyad, the administrator of the royal power, now became the safeguard of Hungary, and the bulwark of western Christendom. That nobleman died shortly after he had acquired immortal fame at Belgrade, against the conqueror of Constantinople (A. D. 1456): and the government, which was conducted in the name of Ladislaf, had scarcely time to display its perfidy and ingratitude toward the house of Hunyad, when that family became extinct by the death of the young prince. A. D. 1458.

The voice of the nation now called Matthias, the son of the hero John Hunyad, to the throne. Matthias surpassed all the sovereigns of his age in wisdom as in good fortune: but it is to be regretted that he did not, like his father, turn his victorious arms against the barbarians, rather than against Bohemia and Austria. On the death of this great king (A. D. 1490), Hungary elected Vladislaf, the son of Casimir of Poland, who was already king of Bohemia.

SECTION XLIV.

THE TURKS.

The Turks are descended from an ancient race of people, who were long accustomed to wander through the eastern regions beyond the Caspian, and frequently poured their swarms over the south of Asia. The Scythians, who had held Asia in subjection twenty-eight years before Cyrus, inhabited this region. Here the Massagetae also with-

stood the arms of the Persians; here Arschah raised the martial bands, which for five hundred years upheld the throne of the Parthians; and here, in the fifth and sixth centuries, powerful Chans reigned, who were alternately flattered by the Romans and by the Persians. It was hence, after Turkestan submitted to the creed and the laws of the commander of the faithful, that those valiant youths descended, who were the ornament and security, and afterwards the imperious masters, of the dynasty of Bagdad; who severed provinces from its dominion, and rendered the successors of Mohammed slaves in their own palace. From these Turks proceeded the house of Seljuk (A. D. 1035), who conquered Asia from the confines of Persia and India to those of Phrygia. The Seljuk sultans in Lesser Asia carried on wars, during two hundred years, against the western crusaders and the Greek emperors; and the power of the Mogols alone destroyed the throne of Iconium.

At this period Solyman, accompanied by fifty thousand men, partly of his own race, and partly of the tribe of the Oghuzi, quitted the country of his ancestors on the Gihore, in order to escape subjection to the yoke of the Mogols. He proceeded through Media; and, continually followed by the conquerors of Asia, pursued his way to the confines of Syria, where he was drowned in the vicinity of Haleb. While one division of his horde endeavored, by various roads, to find its way back again to the northern Steppe, others followed his son Erdogrul toward Lesser Asia. The Sultan Ala-ed-din Kai Kobad, who reigned at Iconium, gladly received this warrior; but vainly hoped that his own power would be supported by the twelve troops which accompanied his march: they consisted only of twenty-five thousand men, and were too feeble to withstand the five hundred thousand which composed the Mogolic swarm. Yajat-ed-din Kai Chosru, the succeeding sultan, fled; and his kingdom, which was enfeebled by the insensate animosity of his sons, Rokn-ed-din-Kilig Arslan and Azz-ed-din-Kai Kawus, was entirely destroyed under the reigns of Masud, son of the last-mentioned prince, and of Ala-ed-din-Kai Kawus, the nephew of Masud. The Turkish fol-

lowers of Erdogrul dispersed themselves in the meanwhile, in those districts of the Taurus which in remote periods had protected the savage freedom of the Isauri, in the mountains of Phrygian Ida, and in other hilly tracts of Lesser Asia. They showed themselves not disinclined to adopt order and civilization from Alexius Philanthropicus, and the few intelligent statesmen of the declining empire: but the first Palæologus who reigned in Constantinople, for the sake of economy, discontinued the pay of the frontier garrisons; and under his son Andronicus, good commanders were the objects of dread to the timid court, and finally became its victims.

The early valor of Osman, son of Erdogrul, was developed at that period among the Turks: it is said to have been first displayed in the vicinity of Troy. A. D. 1299. It is supposed that he quitted that territory when, after the reign of Cazan, the son of Argun, the torrent of the Mogols gradually retired from the country, which they left in the utmost confusion. A. D. 1304. Osman inspired his army with heroic valor and religious enthusiasm: the pleasures of this life, and the joys of paradise, were equally expected by the banditti assembled around the standard which he pretended to have received from the last of the Seljukides.

He was accompanied by holy dervises, whose exterior was as severe as that of the anchorites of the fourth century, but who were elevated, by the effects of opium, to visions which led to active enterprises, instead of the quietude of contemplative life: they were men of firm and heroic character. The kingdom of Osman was erected in the interior of Bithynia; and Prusa, at the foot of the Mysian Olympus, became his capital. A. D. 1303.

In the time of his son Orchan, almost the whole of Lesser Asia was already subjected, partly by the Ottoman troops, and partly by other Turkish tribes. A. D. 1326. A very small number of towns remained under the Greek empire; a portion of Cilicia was subject to the sultan of Egypt; and fortresses in possession of the western powers here and there commanded an island, or a small extent of coast. But even Greece and her islands experienced the

irresistible power of the Turks. The court of Constantinople accelerated its downfal by internal divisions, which were never more destructive than when the friends of Andronicus the younger, in the hope of obtaining the government under his name, induced him to undertake a civil war against his grandfather, who was already seventy years old: and when, after the death of both the former, John Kantakuzenus, the most powerful individual in the empire, was removed from the regency by the hatred of the courtiers, and compelled to take up arms in his own defence. Within six years after this occurrence, Thrace and Macedonia were nearly reduced to a desert, and became the prey of the Servians and Turks, whose assistance was sought by both parties. Kantakuzenus, indeed, ascended the throne; but the empire was so exhausted, that he was unable to maintain it: he retired into the agreeable solitude of Mount Athos, and left the empire to John Palæologus, who was immersed in sensuality.

A. D. 1360. During these disturbances, the Turks took Adrianople, which, in magnitude, was the third city in the Greek empire, and the key of Bulgaria and Servia. Morad, the son of Orchan, or his elder brother Solyman, completed this enterprise without much resistance. Adrianople was soon adorned with mosques, hung within with magnificent tapestries, ornamented with marble, and covered with roofs of copper, which glittered far over the surrounding plains; it became, from that time forth, the seat of a western power, which in the course of time formed the great monarchy of European Turkey.

This Morad, the sultan of the Ottoman Turks, formed a regular corps of twelve thousand captive Christian youths, called Janissaries, whose arms obtained, during two hundred years, an almost uninterrupted succession of victories; and who, upwards of two hundred years longer, have protected the Turkish empire against the military science of the Europeans, which, during the latter period, has become greatly superior to their own. Morad designed and trained them to the knowledge and love of no other employment but arms, and taught them to devote their whole life to his interests and to warfare: they depended on him for their

sustenance, clothing, and pay; he bestowed great rewards on them, distributed them in barracks, and forbade them to marry. No institution similar to this existed among the Europeans: the courage of the Germans disdained to submit to the restraints of discipline; and the great bands of France and Italy were more formidable to their own country and friends than to their enemies. The principal object of attention in these armies, was to form an impenetrable array: a good infantry was only to be found in the Alps and in the mountainous districts of Spain, among tribes who were too poor to procure a costly suit of defensive armor, and were therefore obliged to supply its place by their courage and dexterity.

The irresistible progress of the Ottoman Turks, arose from very natural causes. They took the great city of Philippopolis from the Greeks; but these towns were now considerable in no respect but in circumference, as the greater part of the houses were empty and falling to decay. Morad had more difficulty in conquering the martial Bulgarians and Servians; and was killed by a youth of the latter nation, near Cossowa. A. D. 1389. His son Bajessid, surnamed Dshilderun, or *lightning*, rekindled, in a more terrible manner, the fury of the Ottomans.

Against this warrior, Hungary, Germany, and France assembled an army of an hundred thousand men, which was conducted from Ofen by king Sigismund: six thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry followed the undaunted John, prince of Burgundy, the illustrious vassals of Enguerrands de Coucy, the last lord of Montfaucon Mumpelgard, and the flower of the nobility. The advanced guard was under the command of the king of Hungary; Burgundy came next; and the Hungarians and Bohemians displayed their force under the banner of St. George. Coucy, at the head of five hundred French, a thousand English, and a thousand Hungarian archers, had obtained a slight advantage, when, on a sudden, the sultan Bajessid, with two hundred and fifty thousand men, endeavored to surround the Christian army on all sides. The duke of Burgundy, who, though he heard and saw the danger, was ignorant of its extent, advanced with his whole force, but

without concert with the rest of the army; while Sigismund and Coucy in vain endeavored to restrain him. The count of Artois exclaimed among the French troops, "Montjoy and St. Denys! will ye leave the fame of this day to the Germans?" and these troops joined in the attack. Bajessid, having arranged his army in a crescent, and stationed the cavalry of the Spahi, arranged in the manner of the Janissaries, made a stand. The French soon saw themselves surrounded, and fought with ineffectual valor for life and liberty: their fate spread an universal panic throughout the army; subordination was entirely destroyed, and each sought his own safety in flight. Sigismund escaped, accompanied by five knights, to the Danube, reached Constantinople, and at length arrived in his own country by sea. Coucy, Artois, Burgundy, La Tremouille, and all the most powerful barons, were taken prisoners, and the former died in captivity. Bosnia was afterwards subjected; and Manuel Palæologus was compelled to resign his throne to his nephew, who was patronized by the sultan.

SECTION XLV.

THE MOGOLS.

After the battle of Nicopolis, there appeared no competent rival of the power of the Ottomans, in Europe; when a revolution took place, to the eastward of the Caspian sea, which entirely changed the relations of power. The kingdom of Balkh, situated in that part of Asia, comprises regions which may well contest the prize of fertility with the plains of Andalusia and Damascus: and in the midst of Sogdiana, in a beautiful and well-watered valley, eight or nine days' journey in length, stands Sarmacand, the ancient seat of power and literature. The country of Sogdiana is overlooked by the mountains of Ferguna, which are rich in gold, silver, copper, and precious stones, and inhabited by an independent pastoral nation of the Turkish race: in the magnificent and extensive city of Kesch, not far from Sarmacand, Timur was viceroy of

many fertile and populous districts belonging to the Mogolic chan of Jagatai, who, like himself, was descended from Jengis Chan. The present chan had given himself up to repose, on the throne of his fathers; but he still retained the name of sovereign, which remains with his family to this day. Timur, who was a great warrior and an artful man, persuaded the chan to appoint him *nowian*, or prime minister.

Under the pretence of forcing some faithless viceroys, who had declared themselves independent sultans or chans, to submit to their legitimate sovereign, Timur proceeded to re-establish the Mogolic power, in the same manner as Cyrus fought at first in the cause of his uncle Cyaxares. Persia was quickly subdued. Timur next excited divisions among the golden horde, which held Astrachan, Casan, and the Crimea under its sway, and reigned over the Russians. Nothing was able to withstand the terrors of artillery, which he employed, for the first time, in these regions.

Timur penetrated on one side toward the west, and promised protection to the princes of Lesser Asia, who had been oppressed by the sultans; while his grandson, Pir Mohammed Jehan Ghir, on the other, over-ran the country of Hindostan from the northern mountains; and the Greek emperor found an unexpected deliverance from the Mogol arms. Timur obtained a decisive victory near Ancyra, in the plains of Galatia, over the sultan. Bajessid himself, worthy of his fathers and of his former greatness, fought with the fury of despair, for freedom or the death of a hero; but the Mogols, throwing a mantle over him, took him alive, and brought him ignominiously before the conqueror, whom he despised. A. D. 1399. The unfortunate sultan, consumed by grief, was despatched by Timur to the graves of the Ottomans. The whole of Lesser Asia was plundered and laid waste: the knights of St. John in vain opposed a resistance of fifteen days, in the citadel of St. Peter near Smyrna: the Mogols filled the harbor; only a small part of the order escaped; and Timur erected a tower as a monument of his victory, consisting of an equal number of stones and human heads.

A. D. 1401. He now turned his course toward the east

and north-east; and all the Ulysses of the golden horde, on receiving information of this movement, raised their *kibitkas*, mounted their Tatar horses, and retreated into the steppes beyond the Wolga and the Uralsk: the terrors of God came upon them in the night; they saw the Mogols in imagination, and began to slay one another. Hence arose family feuds which demanded revenge of blood; of which Ivan, czar of the Russians, took advantage, to restore the independence of his country.

Timur also vanquished the Egyptian mamelukes; and on his return to his own country, sent an army of two hundred thousand men against the dynasty of Sing, which at that time reigned in China. He died in the seventy-first year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign. A. D. 1406.

SECTION XLVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE TURKISH HISTORY.

The tottering empire of the Ottoman Turks was still farther weakened by the effeminate Solyman, the restless Issem, and the perfidious and cruel Musa, sons of Bajessid; and by their disobedient pashas: and was scarcely restored by the mild and prudent administration of Mohammed the First, and his noble vizier Bajessid. A. D. 1413. None of the European powers were able to prevent its returning prosperity: Sigismund, who had revenged his wife on some of the nobles of Hungary, was thrown into a dungeon eighty feet below the surface of the earth; and when he regained his liberty, his attention was occupied by the affairs of the west.

A. D. 1420. Morad, the worthy son of Mohammed, restored the janissaries to their former fame: he was heroic, and at the same time gentle; and a just estimator of the vanity of external greatness, to which he preferred the real enjoyment of life, as often as his regal duties would permit. He did not take Constantinople, though the expiring empire scarcely breathed under John the Eighth. A. D. 1422. This emperor made a journey to Italy, the ex-

penses of which were defrayed by the pope, in order to promote the union of the Greek and Romish churches; a measure to which he subscribed, because he expected by means of it to obtain assistance. After his return from Florence, (A. D. 1438), the division became still wider than before; because even those who had been dearly paid for their concurrence, now execrated the compact they had made. The inhabitants of Constantinople were chiefly engaged in theological controversies; and the city, with its immediate neighborhood, contained three hundred convents; while the whole military power did not amount to five thousand men.

The sultan Morad maintained peace with Hungary. Cardinal Julian, the papal legate, released the Hungarians from their oath; and as Morad was enjoying his pleasures in Magnesia, they thought it a good opportunity to attack his kingdom both by sea and land. King Vladislaf, accompanied by Hunyad, advanced to the shores of the Black sea, and Morad once more arose to vindicate the fame of the Ottoman arms. A. D. 1444. The battle of Varna ensued, in which the victory for a long time inclined to Hunyad: Morad called on God to avenge the perjury of the Christian; and at this moment, the youthful king, against the wishes and counsels of Hunyad, broke into the ranks of the janissaries: his head was soon struck off, and carried about on the point of a spear; and the sight of it inspired his own army with such terror, that Morad gained the victory.

A. D. 1451. His son, Mohammed the Second, inherited all his father's virtues except his moderation; and combined with them a more enterprising spirit. From the commencement of his administration, the destruction of the eastern empire was his ruling passion: and in the 1123d year from the building of Constantinople, he besieged that city with the utmost exertion of his power. A. D. 1453. The emperor Constantine, the Genoese hero Giustiniani, the grand duke Lucas Notaras, and every individual who was interested for the last remains of the empire, and for the religion of their fathers, were not less active in its defence. The sultan lay fifty days before the city, and

shook its massy walls with machines of unexampled power. The Turks entered on one side by a neglected postern, just at the moment when their comrades had scaled it in another quarter. Constantine fell as he was fighting valiantly on the wall: the multitude, relying on prophecies, took refuge in the church of St. Sophia; but the city was plundered, and its inhabitants enslaved. The great duke and logothete Lucas Notaras, whose life had been spared, was executed, together with his sons, because he refused an infamous request of the sultan; and Mohammed, for a similar reasom, put to death, with his own hand, the son of Phranzes, the protovestiary. Thus ended the Roman empire, fifteen hundred years after the battle of Pharsalia.

The imperial name, however, still existed in the family of the Comnei at Trebizond, on the Black sea, which, together with the surrounding country, submitted at the appearance of Mohammed. A. D. 1462. The emperor, David Comnenus, was put to death at Constantinople.

The Palæologi still retained the greater part of the ancient Peloponnesus; but Mohammed found means to terrify Thomas, one of the princes of that district, to such a degree, that he took refuge in Italy; and the former having gained Demetrius over to his interest, took possession of the country, and led the prince into Thrace. A D. 1462.

Italy now trembled for its safety: Nicholas the Fifth, and after him Pius the Second, sent the most urgent entreaties to all the western Christians: Pius even determined to animate this new crusade by his own presence; but he was prevented by death from executing his purpose. A. D. 1464.

Alexander, or, as he was called by the Turks, Scanderbeg, of the noble race of the Castriotes, preserved, during his life, the freedom of Coroja in Albania. The great battle fought by Hunyad, at Belgrade (A. D. 1467), saved Hungary: the impression which it produced on the sultan, remained to the day of his death, and induced him to content himself with the complete subjection of Servia. The Vayvodes of Moldavia defended themselves with so much valor, that he was satisfied with their apparent submission. A. D. 1465.

Mahommed adorned Constantinople with new magnificence, and introduced the pomp of a regular court. He is said to have been fond of translations from the works of the ancients, particularly respecting the achievements of Alexander: he caused his own history to be written by Angiolello, a Vicentine slave belonging to his son Mustafa, and patronized the art of painting.

It was especially fortunate for the Christian nations of the west, that Hassan el Tawil, (who is called Usong by Haller) by his prudence and distinguished talents, imparted an extraordinary vigor to the kingdom of Persia, which had been in a state of great disorder ever since the death of Abu Said, the Mogolic chan; he endeavored, both by embassies and correspondence, to convince the duke of Burgundy, the republic of Venice, the Medici, and other western princes, how important his kingdom was to their welfare. This prince has found in Haller a biographer who deserves to be compared with the author of the Cyropædia.

The mamelukes in Egypt, and the houses of Merin, and Abu Haf, in Tunis and Morocco, retained their sovereignties until the sixth century.

SECTION XLVII.

THE GREAT MOGOL.

A. D. 1398. The great Mogol of the family of Timur, confirmed his sway in the East Indies. Myrsa Pir Mohammed, the founder of that empire, had found the successors of the ancient sultans of Ghaur, in that state of weakness into which the dynasties of the east usually sink, in the course of a few generations, from the combined effects of the climate and of despotism. When Timur himself marched across the northern mountains into Hindostan, Sha Mahmud, under the walls of Delhi, fought a decisive battle against his troops, which were inspired by religion, avarice, and ambition. Timur was accompanied by the garrisons of all the places which he had subjected in his progress; and their number was become so great, that he

was apprehensive lest they should set themselves at liberty during the battle; he therefore caused them all to be put to death, and afterward defeated the Sha, and plundered his deserted capital.

Timur pursued the defenders of Hindostan to the passes of Kupeli, where the Ganges issues from the mountains, and in this sacred region obtained his second victory: he completed the conquest of the mountainous district, and a part of his army subdued the country to the southward. A. D. 1406. After his death, and the murder of Pir Mohammed, his kingdom, like that of Alexander, was divided. But the great sultan Borbr, preserved the dominion of the opulent and powerful country of Hindostan in his family, which was the reigning dynasty at the time when the Portuguese came, (as Marai Ben Joseph says), from the dark unknown ocean beyond Negroland, and landed in the East Indies.

The discovery of the East Indies and of America; the union of the kingdoms of Spain under Ferdinand; the accession of power which the kings of France received by the incorporation of Burgundy; the termination of the civil wars of England; the actions of Gustavus Vasa in Sweden, and of Ivan Vasilievitsch in Russia; the alterations in the constitution of the German empire, arising partly from the power of Austria, and partly from the reformation; produced new arrangements in the political frame of Europe, gave rise to new interests, opinions, and manners, and new institutions, both in military affairs and in commerce.

BOOK XVIII.

OF THOSE REVOLUTIONS WHICH ESPECIALLY CONTRIBUTED TO DEVELOPE THE NEW ORDER OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS.—A. D. 1453—1519.

SECTION I.

LEWIS THE ELEVENTH.

CHARLES the Seventh, king of France, was succeeded by his son, Lewis the Eleventh, in the sovereignty of his kingdom, which had been rescued from the yoke of the English by the good fortune of the former, and which now began to assume (A. D. 1461), among the nations of Europe, a rank in some degree proportionate to its power. The judgment which we form of statesmen, is often decided rather by the consequences of their measures, than by an impartial estimation of their character: and it has accordingly happened, that the enemies of the kingdom, whose importance was so much augmented by Lewis the Eleventh, have frequently refused to do justice to his talents. He said with truth, that his council was in his own head; and it would, in fact, have been difficult for the most accomplished minister to point out a better method of turning to account the circumstances of his age, than that which he adopted.

The exorbitant power of the nobility appeared to him the greatest obstacle to that unity in the administration of affairs, which imparts energy and rapidity of execution to the enterprises of a government: and he was so entirely occupied in diminishing the privileges of that class, that even his intemperate passions were incapable of diverting his attention from the prosecution of his views. He was too well acquainted with the real extent of his power, to engage unnecessarily in foreign quarrels; and conceived

that the most important benefits which he could confer on his successors, would be to render them masters of their own dominions: but even in this respect he refrained from a premature display of his authority, by which the nobles might have been alarmed, and perhaps induced to enter into a combination against his designs.

He appeared to follow the course of events, while in reality he frequently guided them. His enemies were as powerful, and more opulent, than himself: accordingly he opposed them not by force, but by cunning, in which he hoped to be superior to them, because they were numerous, and had different and frequently conflicting views, while his own will was uniform and undivided, and his attention constantly directed to the opportunities which their weaknesses or misfortunes might offer to his advantage. He not only misled his enemies to their ruin, but gave to his administration a degree of reputation for order and justice, in affairs of a private nature, in which that of his adversaries was defective. He resembled Augustus in the simplicity of his manner of life, in his power of dissimulation, and in the readiness to perpetrate any crime that could contribute to his interests; and like Augustus, he was greater in the cabinet than in the field: for both these sovereigns possessed a degree of timidity in the midst of their ambitious plans, which was the origin of the extraordinary caution of their measures, and proved to be a source of torment to themselves, which avenged the misfortunes they inflicted on their enemies.

Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy during the life of Charles the Seventh, who was generally at variance with his son Lewis, had given the young prince an asylum at his court. A. D. 1467. Philip left a son named Charles, who was as ambitious as the king, while his passions were more impetuous, and his character far more noble and exalted: his pride contemned the employment of artifice, and his feelings were so vehement as entirely to deprive him of self-control. The finest countries on this side the Alps, the two Burgundies, and almost the whole of Belgium, were his property: to these he added the duchy of Gelders and the county of Zütphen, which he bought of

Arnold of Egmont, duke of Gelders, having delivered that nobleman from the imprisonment in which he had been held by his own son.

Sigismund, lord of the disjoined provinces of Austria, who was in want of money to support a war against the Swiss (A. D. 1469), had already mortgaged to the duke the county of Pfirt, and many towns in Alsace and Swabia. Charles besides entertained hopes, that Renatus of Anjou, the titular king of Naples, whom Lewis had offended, would bequeath to him the county of Provence. Lorraine was not capable of resisting the power of Burgundy; and it appeared to be in the power of Charles to erect a kingdom of Austrasia, or of Lorraine, and thus for ever to separate France from Germany and Italy. The king had reason to be anxious for the safety of Dauphiné and Lyons; for his sister, the regent of Savoy, is said to have entertained an attachment to the duke; and the emperor Frederick was inclined to present him with a regal crown, if he would consent to betroth his daughter and heiress to the archduke Maximilian.

Against this powerful sovereign of the most populous and wealthy countries, no military enterprise of the king was successful: the only weapon remaining was artifice, by which he endeavored to entangle his rival in foreign quarrels; and Charles facilitated these designs of his enemy, by pretensions and undertakings which alarmed the empire, and irritated the Swiss, who generally contemplated all external changes with indifference.

The king, who had already found an opportunity in his youth, of appreciating the character of this nation, led forty thousand men to disperse the council of Basel, and to make a diversion in favor of the war, in which Austria was engaged with them. No victorious body of troops had ever made so strong an impression on him as the fifteen hundred Swiss produced, who at St. James on the Birs (A. D. 1444), after having killed four times their own number, suffered themselves to be cut off, to a man, by the superior numbers of their enemy, while not a single individual offered to surrender. A. D. 1452. From that time France sought their friendship and alliance; and

Lewis contrived to make friends at Bern, and in other towns, by means of bribes: for the poverty of these mountaineers rendered gold the most valuable thing among them, next to freedom. Nicholas von Diesbach of Bern, a man whose reputation, eloquence, and popular manners, rendered him the most important individual in that canton; Jost von Sillinen, provost of Beronmünster; Hanns Waldman, the best knight and the greatest man at Zurich; many of the confessors, and the warlike youth; were especially devoted to the king. Charles at the same period offended the emperor by his pride, and by his oppressive treatment of the territories he held under mortgage in Alsace, in such a manner, that the house of Austria was eager to accede to any alliance, by which this insulting and injurious conduct might be punished.

A. D. 1474. In this state of affairs the king mediated a "perpetual adjustment" of the ancient animosity of the house of Austria against the confederates, and advanced a sum of money to Sigismund for the ransom of his territories, between whom and Switzerland a treaty was concluded. The bishops of Strasburg and Basel; Renatus, the young duke of Lorraine, and the most considerable cities of Alsace, took the part of the confederates. Bern promised its assistance to the king against the duke; every thing was managed according to the wishes of the friends of Lewis; and Hadrian von Bubenberg, the chief magistrate, their opponent in all these affairs, who possessed in an extraordinary degree the veneration of his contemporaries, was excluded from the assemblies of the council.

Charles, however, refused to accept the ransom which was offered by Sigismund, in consequence of which the latter had recourse to forcible measures; and by the decision and advice of the Swiss ambassadors, caused Peter von Hagenbach, the tyrannical magistrate to whom Charles had confided the government of the mortgaged fiefs in Alsace, to be beheaded. This proceeding was probably instigated by the king, whose interest it was to render the animosity irreconcilable: the duke swore to revenge his officer; and Lewis seized this moment to propose an alliance with the Swiss, and to offer assistance, and a supply

of provisions to the towns of the lower confederacy: an hereditary alliance was concluded with Austria, and the emperor Frederick summoned the Swiss to their duty as members of the empire. Charles, on the other hand, armed the force of Burgundy, some Italian mercenaries, and the Savoyard population of the neighboring Pays de Vaud. The canton of Bern, undaunted by these preparations, sent the high provosts, Petermann von Wabern and Nicholas von Scharnacthal, with three thousand men, over mount Jura, against Franche Comté; and all the confederates concurred in a declaration of war at the diet at Lucern.

This was the beginning of the Burgundian war, which had so important a share in new-modelling the political system of Europe. The duchy was laid waste; but at the approach of Charles, the Swiss retreated to the eastern side of Jura, where they took possession of the dominions of prince William of Orange-Chateau Guyon, who commanded in the service of Burgundy: terror accompanied their march, as they neither gave nor demanded quarter.

The Swiss troops were better adapted for fighting than for sustaining the fatigues of long-continued warfare. The aids sent by their confederates arrived but slowly; partly because these good allies would have been glad to see *their* power, as well as that of Burgundy, exhausted in the contest; and partly because they were desirous of discerning the probable issue of the contest before they took any active part. Meanwhile the troops of Bern conquered the Pays de Vaud, where James de Romont, of the house of Savoy, endeavored to obstruct their passage. These wars really deserved the name of journies, which was commonly applied to them; for few instances occurred of resistance on the part of the fortresses.

The duke of Burgundy extended his force out of the middle passes of the Jura, towards the lake of Neufchatel. Here he besieged and took the fortress of Granson, which was occupied by a Swiss garrison, whom he caused to be hanged, probably with the design of terrifying their countrymen. A. D. 1476. This injury, however, only served to inflame their national pride; and they soon took revenge in the battle which the duke, through his impetuosity, suf-

fered himself to be compelled to fight in a narrow defile, where his superiority of numbers was of no avail. His army no sooner perceived the unexpected firmness of the despised enemy, than they took flight; and his camp, which resembled the most splendid court, together with upwards of four hundred pieces of artillery, and six hundred colors and standards, fell into the hands of the victors.

The duke, not dispirited by this disaster, appeared in a few months before Murten, a small town, which was defended with heroic valor by Hadrian von Bubenberg, who now manifested himself a true patriot, when the defence of his country was at stake. The confederates assembled slowly: the duke of Lorraine, who had been driven out of his own country, came to the assistance of the common cause, with only two hundred faithful knights and four counts of Leiningen. The people of Bern, and of all Switzerland, were left by the authorities to their own will; and they exerted their powers with redoubled vigor in the plains and on the heights of Murten against the enemy, who, on this occasion, had chosen a field which allowed him more room for the display of his forces than in the former battle, and which was much nearer to their own country. The victory was decided by Hanns von Hallwyl, a knight, and commander of the advanced troops and artillery, who infused his own ardent spirit into all around him. The duke was obliged, by an astonishing display of vigor on the part of the Swiss, to abandon his camp and artillery with great loss, and to save his own life by a precipitate flight.

The affrighted Pays de Vaud once more submitted to the conquerors. This misfortune seemed to have deprived the duke of all his presence of mind, in consequence of which his army, having suffered greatly in the engagement, was dispersed and still more enfeebled. The duchess of Savoy now displeased even Charles, who sent her a prisoner into his own dominions. The house of Savoy with difficulty obtained a peace from the conquerors, by the sacrifice of Murten and other places on the frontiers.

Renatus shortly afterwards entreated the Swiss, in the most earnest manner, to re-occupy and defend Lorraine, as

Charles was besieging his capital city, Nancy: eight thousand of their troops joyfully obeyed the summons, and marched, in the midst of a severe winter, across the mountainous tract of the Wasgau. The battle of Nancy took place on the 6th of January (A. D. 1477), in which the Swiss took advantage of the broken ground, and got into the rear of the enemy's position: the troops of Burgundy fled, and the duke lost his life by means of an Italian condottiere, who betrayed him. With him expired the male line of the house of Burgundy.

Lewis hereupon took possession, agreeably to the laws, of the vacant duchy; partly as a forfeited, and partly as a reverted fief. Burgundy remained in possession of Maria, the daughter and heiress of the late duke, who now, at the desire of the states of the country, married the archduke Maximilian. The influence of the citizens was now much greater than usual, because the flower of the nobility had fallen in the late battles; and the former, who were careful of their liberties, preferred the mild and popular son of the distant emperor to the dauphin. Maria died (A. D. 1478), after having borne a son named Philip; and her dominions were governed by Maximilian, as administrator, on behalf of the infant. During his regency, the people, who suspected him of designs against their rights, made him prisoner at Bruges (A. D. 1482): but even these Netherlanders, who prescribed such rigid bounds to the authority of their ruler, maintained his cause against France. A. D. 1487. Lewis acquired as much as he could obtain without exertion; but his character was not such as to induce him to aim at the subjugation of the Netherlands by the power of the French monarchy. He gained over Fourbin, the minister of Charles of Anjou, nephew and heir of the titular king Renatus, count of Provence, who declared the king his heir. A. D. 1481. After the union of Provence with the crown, the only remaining great vassal, who was capable of controlling the power of the king, was Francis II. duke of Brittany, who had no son.

SECTION II.

MAXIMILIAN.

Maximilian, who had acquired the duchy of Burgundy and the Netherlands, chiefly because he was little the object of apprehension, inherited also from his cousin, the archduke Sigismund, the disjoined provinces of Austria. The four sovereignties of Bregence, Pludence, Feldkirch, and Sonnenberg, in the vicinity of Arlenberg, which had formerly been under the dominion of the house of Montfort, were now transferred to that of Austria, together with the Swabian bailiwick at Altorf, the inheritance of the Guelphs, a remnant of the power of the ducal house of Swabia; the county of Nellenburg, in the Hegau, bordering on Zurich and Schafhausen; the county of Goritz, and the Italian districts bordering on Venice, along the confines of the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen; with the Tyrolese. The state of the Austrian finances under Frederick III. was so far from flourishing in proportion to this extent of territory, that the emperor was obliged to allow king Matthias to hold the reins of government in Vienna for some years, in lieu of the payment of a sum of one hundred and twenty thousand ducats: and Maximilian forgave the people of Bruges the insult offered to his majesty by his imprisonment, in consideration of five hundred thousand ducats; and made the receipt of five hundred thousand florins an essential condition of his marriage with Blanca Maria Sforza. The states of the empire also showed more inclination to grant him a supply of men than any pecuniary aid, towards his war against the Turks.

This prince, after the death of his first wife, was on the point of a marriage with the heiress of Brittany; which, if it had taken place, would have thrown the monarchy of France into greater difficulties than the power of Burgundy had already occasioned it. French artifice, however, prevented this misfortune; and Anne gave her hand to Charles the Eighth. A. D. 1491. The states of Brittany deter-

mined that, in the event of her bearing two sons, the second of them should inherit the dukedom; but neither Charles, nor Lewis the Twelfth, who succeeded him on the throne, and who married his widow, left any male issue: and Francis the First undertook, on this conjuncture, to incorporate Brittany with the dominions of the crown; to which it was henceforward inseparably attached. At the same time a regulation was established, by which every province should be considered as incorporated, which the king had governed during ten successive years. A. D. 1531. But this most extensive and fertile of the European kingdoms would have attained its predominant influence, and the ancient boundaries of Gaul would have been restored, at a much earlier period, if these results had not been prevented by an administration destitute of any fixed principles: for while the house of Maximilian was establishing its power in the Netherlands, France was exhausting its resources in a contest of fifty years, for the acquisition of a precarious dominion, separated from its own territory by the Alpine barrier.

SECTION III.

ITALY.

A. D. 1450. We have already seen, in the seventeenth book, that Francesco Sforza acquired the dominion of the Visconti at Milan, by the success of his arms; and that he confirmed his authority by his wise measures. A. D. 1467. His son Galeazzo was murdered by some youths, who were inspired with the desire of imitating Brutus and Cassius, and restoring the freedom of the republic; but his widow, Bona of Savoy, by the assistance which she derived from the possession of the citadel, preserved the ducal power for her son John Galeazzo, who was yet a minor. A. D. 1478. Ludovico Moro, the brother of the murdered prince, a sagacious and enterprising man, destroyed his nephew by means of slow poison (A. D. 1494), and assumed the government: but as he stood in fear of the

king of Naples, whose daughter was the widow of the unfortunate John Galeazzo, he sent the cardinal Ascanio Sforza to the court of France, commanding him to represent to Charles the Eighth, that if the latter wished to prosecute those claims on the kingdom of Naples which he had inherited from the house of Anjou, he and some others of the Italian powers were inclined to support his pretensions.

The kingdom, however, (as the Italians donominate Naples), was under the sway of a collateral branch of the house of Arragon. Alfonso the Wise, king of Arragon and Sicily, who had deposed queen Johanna the Second, died without legal heirs; in consequence of which Arragon devolved on his brother (A. D. 1458); but Alfonso had bequeathed Sicily and Naples to Don Ferrando, his natural son. The reign of this prince was long and vigorous; but while he appeared to imitate the mildness of Cæsar, he found either pretences or secret methods for removing out of his way many of the noblemen whose influence was formidable to his authority: he also excited the enmity of the lower classes by his burdensome imposts. The notorious qualities of his eldest son, Don Alfonso, were such as to promise nothing but undisguised tyranny.

At this period, the chair of St. Peter was filled, after a succession of some excellent pontiffs, and others whose character was in no respect above mediocrity, by Alexander the Sixth, of the Spanish family of Borgia. The inclinations of this high-priest of Christendom were not dissimilar to those by which Caligula and Nero have acquired so distinguished a place in the annals of voluptuousness: in other respects, his favorite project was to acquire a considerable power in Italy for Cæsar, the most enterprising of his sons.

Cæsar Borgia was a man of a remarkably active mind, and of great strength of character. Neither his father nor himself was deficient in the boldness necessary for systematic villany; and Cæsar acquired, by means of treachery and assassination, the sovereignty of many Italian cities, which he afterwards governed with clemency and justice. The rulers of Italy were in general men more remarkable

for imagination and eloquence, than for good sense and real knowledge: the restraints of all laws, divine and human, were despised; and scarcely an age can be mentioned in which contempt of religion, and crimes of every species, have been more openly displayed.

SECTION IV.

FLORENCE.

Cosmo de' Medici, the father of his country, died at Florence in the seventy-fifth year of his age. A. D. 1464. The emperor, king Lewis the Eleventh, the pope, and all the neighboring princes and cities, sent embassies to the Florentines, expressive of their sympathy, on account of the loss of such a citizen. His son, Pedro de' Medici, was a man of sound intellect and refined manners; but as the infirm state of his health prevented him from exerting great activity in business, it became evident that the power of the Medici was only personal: and Luca Pitti did not hesitate to declare, that many things which had been tolerated in so old and so great a man as Cosmo, could not be allowed in Pedro. The latter had, besides, offended several of those who were indebted to him, by demanding payments.

A. D. 1472. Pedro left two sons; the elder of whom, Lorenzo, acquired the surname of "Father of the Muses," by his splendid talents, and by his love of polite literature. Julian, his brother, was a youth whose character was not less estimable.

There existed at that time, in Florence, a law, by which the daughters were excluded from inheritance, when there was no especial testamentary disposition in their favor. In consequence of this regulation, a lady who had married into the family of the Pazzi was deprived of the hereditary estates of her family. The Pazzi believed that the Medici might by their influence have procured a different termination to the affair, they entered into a conspiracy with Francesco Salviati, archbishop of Pisa, and some of the nobles of Florence, to destroy this family on the 26th of April

(A. D. 1478), when the cardinal Riario, nephew of pope Sixtus the Fourth, was about to make his entry into the city. For this purpose they went early to the church of St. Riparata, in which the brothers were accustomed to attend divine service: and at the moment of the elevation of the host, Francesco Pazzi, as had been concerted, accosted the youngest, threw his arms in a familiar manner round him, in order to ascertain whether he had armour under his clothes, and inquired concerning his health. As the young men were entirely unconscious of their danger, the conspirators found it an easy matter to put Julian to death; and Lorenzo was wounded, but was saved by the concourse of priests, who hastened to the spot, and conveyed him into the sacristy. While the church was filled with the tumult of arms, the archbishop of Pisa, accompanied, as was usual among the great, by an armed suite, came, as if to pay a visit of ceremony, into the state palace, at the moment when the magistrates were at dinner: while he was speaking to them, his attendants occupied the steps and doors of the building, broke into the saloon, and got possession of the palace; while the terrified members of the government saved themselves by flight. Pazzi ran into the square, exclaiming, "Long live the people, long live the freedom of Florence!" In less than an hour, the whole population was assembled in arms around the palace; but contrary to the expectation of the conspirators, they appeared as defenders of the rulers and of the Medici: they laid fire to the doors, took the palace, and hung Pazzi, the archbishop, and many others, out of the window of the great saloon. Bandini, one of the conspirators, who had fled to Constantinople, was delivered up by the sultan Mohammed, out of regard for Lorenzo. The son of Julian, supposed to be illegitimate, mounted the papal chair forty-five years afterwards, under the name of Clement the Seventh.

The preservation of Lorenzo was a fortunate circumstance for Italy: princes and republics were kept in peace by his prudent measures; and it is asserted of him, that he never said or did any thing relative to public affairs, that was not laudable and worthy of his high reputation. Pope

Sixtus laid the city under excommunication, on account of the death of the archbishop of Pisa, and appointed duke Alfonso of Calabria, the son of Don Ferrando of Naples, executor of the decree. As Alfonso demanded that the Medici should be banished from Florence, as a preliminary condition of peace, Lorenzo declared that he was far from wishing to preserve his importance or his life at the hazard of his country; and that he would take a decided step in favor of the latter, at the risk of all his own interests: he immediately retired to Naples, to the court of that very prince who had endeavored to procure his ruin; and so completely gained the confidence of Don Ferrando, that the latter was ever after a steadfast friend of Florence. Lorenzo gained many powerful friends by his magnanimous conduct; and the days of the pope were shortened by envy and chagrin.

From that time Lorenzo the Magnificent, reigned in the greatest splendor, though without a title: he abandoned all commercial pursuits; adorned the city and his own estates with noble edifices, and assembled around him the most ingenious and learned persons of the age. Lorenzo engaged Angelo Puliziano as the teacher of his children. The celebrated prince Pico of Mirandola, who was a prodigy of early learning and extensive knowledge, took up his residence at Florence; Lorenzo employed John Lascaris, at his own expense, to collect the writings of the ancients in Greece and Asia; he encouraged Marsiglio Ficini to undertake the translation of Plato; and he founded an university at Pisa. He was himself a good poet, and employed his leisure hours with music, or with the works of statuaries, painters, and architects. He possessed a penetrating genius and a sound understanding; uncommon activity and firmness, together with an engaging gracefulness of manner, and an agreeable wit. Like almost every individual of his family, he was devoted to pleasure.

Lewis the Eleventh endeavored to obtain his friendship, through the mediation of the historian Philip de Comines; pope Innocent the Eighth was happy to obtain his daughter in marriage for his nephew, prince Cibo; Matthias Hunyad applied to him for counsel; the sultan of Egypt

honored him with presents; and the grand signor of the Ottomans with proofs of his esteem. His death, which happened in the 44th year of his age (A. D. 1492), was a great misfortune to Italy; for his son Pedro, who inherited all his father's possessions, was destitute of his talents.

SECTION V

VENICE.

Venice, a short time before this period, had acquired possession of a kingdom. Charlotte, heiress of the family of Poitiers Lusignan, which was in possession of the sovereignty of Cyprus, was involved in war with her illegitimate brother James, on account of the succession. The latter, in order to strengthen his party, married Catharine Cornaro, the daughter of a senator of Venice (A. D. 1471): his ambassadors chose her from among seventy-two young noble ladies, who were presented before them in the state palace; and the republic declared her its daughter. After the death of the king (A. D. 1473), her title to the throne was maintained by the family of Davila (to which the great historian of that name belonged), by the viceroy of the house of Constanzi, and especially by the Venetian admiral Piero Mocenigo, and by the high reputation of her mother country. The Cypriots, excited by letters from Rome, which accused Catharine of poisoning the king, broke into the palace, and put the physician and two noble Venetians to death, in her presence; but before the king of Naples could give support to this rebellion, it was quelled by the valiant commanders, Coriolano and Sorenzo.

James the Third, whom Catharine bore after the death of the king, died in early infancy: and the anxiety attendant on a war with Turkey, afforded the republic a pretext for sending Giorgio Cornaro, a brother of the queen, to Cyprus, and for persuading her to fix her residence at Venice. A. D. 1486. The standard of the republic was erected in the great place of the capital city Famagosta; and Catharine was received on board the Bucentaur by the

doge Agostin Barbarigo, and by a numerous suite of senators and noble ladies; and was afterwards conducted, with great pomp, to the church of St. Mark, at the high altar of which she formally transferred the kingdom of Cyprus to the republic of Venice. She lived twenty-four years after this transaction, revered by her fellow-citizens, and in her splendid villas enjoyed pleasures which she preferred to the pursuits of ambition. The illegitimate sons of her husband were honorably supported at Padua.

The expelled queen Charlotte died in poverty at Rome, after having transferred her title to the family of Savoy.

Duke Lewis of Savoy had already acquired a claim to the sovereignty of Cyprus, by his marriage with Anna of Lusignan, daughter of king James; and his descendants, to this day, call themselves kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem.

Cyprus, however, remained under the dominion of Venice, which was the principal state in Italy. The most considerable commerce with the east, before the discoveries of the Portuguese, was carried on by the Venetians, by way of Alexandria, and was favored by the sultans of the mamelukes. The city was not only very opulent, but its military force was much superior to that of the other Italian states.

SECTION VI.

THE LESSER ITALIAN PRINCES.

The princes of the house of Este, as vassals, partly of the empire, and partly of the church, for centuries governed Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, with the title of marquis: but Borso had obtained the rank of duke from the emperor Frederick the Third (A. D. 1452); and his successors had preserved that title.

In a similar manner, the descendants of Lewis Gonzaga, who had expelled the powerful Buonaccolsi from Mantua, had a short time before acquired the title of marquis from the emperor Sigismund, in return for some service rendered to him by John Francis. A. D. 1433.

Mirandola, at that time a fortified town, was the residence of the princes Pico: the Malespina reigned at Massa; the Grimaldi at Monaco; and the young Guidone Ubaldo di Montefeltro maintained his power with difficulty at Urbino.

The dukes of Savoy for a considerable time had obtained the character of mild rather than of great or fortunate princes; and their power had been much diminished by short reigns and frequent minorities.

SECTION VII.

THE FRENCH IN ITALY.

The situation of Italy was such as we have above described, when the negotiations of the duke of Milan excited the king of France to a campaign against Naples. Nothing was capable of resisting the overpowering impetuosity of the French troops, and the immovable firmness of the Swiss, of whom Charles had a strong body in his army. A. D. 1495. Don Ferrando was lately dead, his life having been shortened, as it was believed, by a dread of these preparations; and Alfonso, in terror, abandoned the government which he had scarcely assumed, and retired into the solitude of monastic life, whither he was said to be followed by revengeful spirits, the ghosts of the murdered nobles. In a few days after the accession of his son, Don Ferrando, twenty thousand French, and six thousand Swiss troops completed the conquest of Naples. Charles overran Italy, which was afterwards plundered by his successor, Lewis: but the Spaniard Ferdinand obtained a permanent conquest, while the Swiss despised the acquisition.

The manners of the French were displeasing to the Neapolitans: even the character of the king was deficient in the greatness which commands obedience, while he manifested a degree of insolent vanity, which provoked the indignation of people of all ranks. It was therefore not long before a league was formed between pope Alexander;

the emperor Maximilian, who had just succeeded to his father; Ferdinand, king of Arragon and Castile, and the Venetians, against the French; in which Ludovico Moro, the original source of all these evils, participated. In a part of the Parmesan territory, near Foronovo, and on the banks of the Tanaro, the allies awaited the approach of the king, who was marching back with his weakened force, intending to attack him, when his army should gradually descend from the passes of the Apennines. His advanced guard, consisting of the Swiss troops, cut a passage through the lines of the enemy, who were three times more numerous; and the king lost only two hundred men, in a battle which cost his adversaries three thousand. From this time until the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, the artillery of the French armies was always protected by Swiss troops.

Since the period when the descendants of Charlemagne divided his empire, and subsequently to the decay of the family of Hohenstaufen, scarcely any political connection had subsisted between the different states of Europe, while the princes contented themselves with confirming their authority in their own dominions: but the undertaking of Charles in Italy awaked the jealousy of Austria and Spain; and by degrees the idea of a balance of power necessary to the preservation of universal security was developed. The interest which all states took in the transactions of others became greater, and partitions among the people themselves more frequent. Thus the characters of the different nations became more polished, and knowledge soon began to spread itself more widely.

One of the first consequences of this more intimate connection was the propagation of the venereal disease, the first remarkable effects of which were displayed during the Italian war. Christopher Columbus was not yet returned from his second voyage to America, whence it is commonly supposed that the Spaniards brought it; nor had the latter yet landed at Naples, when the disease made its appearance in that country among the French troops. It is highly probable that this infection, like that of the small-pox, is a native of the hot climate of Africa; and that it was

brought to Europe from the coast of Guinea. The terror inspired by its first ravages was so great, that it is recorded by all the historians of that age: it was even supposed to be the angel of death mentioned in the apocalypse, which should destroy the third part of the human race. Those who were attacked by this disease were abandoned and separated from mankind, until it found its way to the inhabitants of palaces, and to the heads of the Christian world, among whom it met with better treatment. So great a schism arose among the medical professors of Leipsic about the method of cure, that they separated from each other, followed by a number of students, and thus gave occasion to the foundation of the university of Wittenberg, and that of Frankfort on the Oder.

After the death of Charles the Eighth, Lewis the Twelfth endeavored to act the same part toward Milan which his predecessor had supported with regard to Naples. It is, however, necessary to explain the manner in which the relations of power were changed in favor of Austria: Philip the Fair, son of Maximilian by Maria of Burgundy, and heir of Austria, the Netherlands, and Upper Burgundy, married the heiress of Arragon, Castile, Leon, and all the other dominions of the catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella.

SECTION VIII.

FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

Ferdinand, the first prince who resumed the ancient title of "the catholic," was the son of Don Juan the Second, who had inherited the kingdom of Arragon and Valencia, the incorporated earldom of Catalonia, the Balearic isles, and Sicily, from his brother Alfonso the Wise. Isabella, the wife of Ferdinand, was sister to Henry the Fourth, the last king of Castile. A. D. 1451.

It was declared, by the contrivance of Carillo, archbishop of Toledo, and Don Ferrando Gonzalez de Mendoza, that Henry was incapable of procreation; and that

his reputed daughter, Johanna, was the fruit of an adulterous intercourse which had taken place, with the king's consent, between the queen and Bernard of Cueva, count of Ledesma, and first duke of Albuquerque. The marquis de Villena, indeed, endeavored to secure the title of the princess, and attempted, with that view, to procure a marriage between her and Alfonso the Fifth, king of Portugal: but the Portuguese troops were defeated; Truxillo, the capital of Villena, was taken (A. D. 1474); and the party of Isabella supported her in the succession to the throne. The extensive kingdom of Castile had been augmented, during the preceding reign (A. D. 1462), by the acquisition of the strong fortress of Gibraltar, which had been taken from the Moors by the dukes of Medina Sidonia and Arcos, and the grand master of the order of Alcantara. The Moorish kingdom of Grenada was all that remained of the empire of the Arabs in Spain; and this state was shattered by the factions of the Zegri and the Abencerrages, which were inflamed to the utmost pitch of exasperation by the fate of an innocent queen, who had been calumniated and unjustly executed. The bravest knights of the family of the Abencerrages lost their lives in a tumult, to which this affair gave occasion. The throne was now the object of contention between Mohammed el Zagal, and his nephew Abn Abdallah; and these circumstances were improved to their own advantage by the sovereigns of Castile; for Isabella had now declared her husband co-regent. The noble spirit of the Moorish knights enabled them, however, to prolong their resistance for ten years; and Ferdinand lost twenty thousand men before Zagal could be compelled to give up Baeza. But when Ferdinand had thus become master of the mountains of Alpujarra, he terrified the Moors by building the city of Sante Fé, which manifested his intention of keeping Grenada in a state of perpetual siege. A. D. 1492. This capital of their dominions was at length given up; and the inhabitants stipulated for that freedom in religion which their fathers had formerly allowed to the Spaniards. Several of the nobles, however, abandoned the profession of Islam for that of Christianity; and while the posterity of Zagal still remains in the African

Telemsan, the family of the Abencerrages flourish in Spain, under the title of marquis Campohejar. Thus ended, in its seven hundred and seventy-ninth year, the empire of the Mohammedans in Spain.

When Charles the Eighth, subsequently to this conquest, began his preparations for his Italian expedition, he restored to Ferdinand the Pyrenean regions of Cerdagne and Rousillon, which Don Juan the Second had mortgaged to the king of France.

The popular right of election in Spain had fallen, in the lapse of time, into oblivion. The people were content with maintaining their privileges, the most important of which belonged to the inhabitants of Arragon and Catalonia, who with justice retained their participation in those national rights, which had been restored by a state of warfare, that lasted seven hundred years. Ferdinand attached himself to the ecclesiastical party, as the means of securing his domination; for he was well aware in how great a degree that party had contributed to the misfortunes of the last king of Castile, who had imprudently offended them by refusing to permit the pope to nominate Torremada to the archbishopric of Leon. Ferdinand accordingly took care to preserve a perfect cordiality with the court of Rome, and thus to make the head of the church a tool for the government of her body. The zeal which he manifested as defender of the faith, was in exact proportion to the obtuseness of his moral sense.

He assumed, in this latter character, the grand mastership of the ecclesiastical orders of knights of St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, which had been founded and very richly endowed, during the ancient religious wars, by pious superstition. The fraternity of St. Jago had received the dignity of knighthood from Ferdinand the Second, king of Leon; the order of Julian de Pereyro had acquired riches and fame by the conquest of Alcantara; and that of Calatrava had been founded by Sancho the Third of Castile. During the late religious war, and subsequent to the battle of Zamora, Isabella induced the knights of St. Jago to elect the king for their grand-master: their example was followed by the other orders; and thus that important dignity was

inseparably united to the crown. The court by these means acquired the most powerful influence among all the noble families whose sons aspired to promotion in the orders; together with the distribution of twenty-seven dignified posts, of one hundred and seventy-two benefices, and the control over a revenue of four millions five hundred thousand reals de vello: at the same time it precluded the possibility of any person in Spain, except the king, becoming head of a military union. Ferdinand afterwards erected a council of the orders.

Before the conquest of the Moors was compelled, Mendoza, a minister of state, and Alfonso de Salez, bishop of Cadiz, sketched, during a residence at Seville, the plan of an inquisition of the faith; an institution which had already, during more than two centuries and a half, depressed the mental vigor of many of the nations of Europe. Its first exploit in Spain was the confiscation of property, and murder of a great number of the citizens of Seville, descended from Jewish ancestors, and who were accused of an inclination to the faith of their fathers.

Brother Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, commissary-general of the Franciscans, and confessor to the queen, gained over the latter to this project. The church of Castile, in which all affairs had hitherto been conducted by the archbishop of Toledo and the synod, under the superintendance of the pope, resisted the introduction of the plan; and Sixtus the Fourth, who foresaw the power which this institution would give to the court, even over the clergy, for a long time refused his concurrence. At length, however, the latter consented; and brother Thomas, of Torquemada, a dominican and prior of the holy cross at Segovia, became the first inquisitor: he employed two hundred familiars, and had a personal guard of fifty horsemen. A. D. 1481. In the first year of his office, seventeen thousand persons, who were either denounced by others, or who accused themselves under extreme terrors, because this was made a point of conscience, underwent examination. Two thousand were in a short time burned alive; and with the property of these victims, Torquemada founded the convent of St. Thomas at Avila, into which no per-

son was admitted whose ancestors had been either of Moorish or Jewish race.

The Jews, who, during the dominion of the Moors in Spain, had generally been suffered quietly to pursue their successful occupations, afterwards received orders to quit the kingdom within six months: they were allowed to take with them their silver, gold, and jewels; but all their property of other kinds was confiscated; and all Christians were forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to give bread or water to any of that devoted nation. Of the Jews residing in the territory of Castile, who were eighty thousand in number, many fled to Portugal, and many to Mauritania; and those who inhabited Arragon, retired into Navarre: the emigration amounted in the whole to one hundred and seventy thousand families.

While Mendoza, the successor of Carillo in the archbishopric of Toledo, was compelling the Castilians to receive the inquisition, Arragon in vain offered Ferdinand a large sum of money for the privilege of remaining exempt from this cruel scourge; and vain were the mediatorial representations of the Justizia, the constitutional preserver of the freedom of the country. These peaceable methods having failed, Peter of Arbues, first inquisitor-general in Arragon, was killed in a tumult of the people, on his appearance in the cathedral church of Saragossa: Teruel revolted; and the king, who, like Lewis the Eleventh, was artful in the highest degree, but deficient in that greatness of soul which controls the minds of the people, hesitated when he saw money on one side and opposition on the other. During this state of irresolution, Torquemada entered the chamber in which Ferdinand and Isabella were sitting, with a crucifix concealed under his mantle: he held it before their eyes, exclaiming, "he whom your majesties behold was sold for thirty pieces of silver: will you again betray him? he will find means to revenge himself." The priest left the crucifix standing, and went away: it was now resolved to introduce the inquisition into Arragon by force of arms. Leon, Valencia, and Sicily resisted to a still later period, but with an equally unfortunate result.

Although the Moors had given up the sovereignty of

Grenada under the express condition of freedom for their religious profession, they were now ordered to submit either to baptism or banishment: the ecclesiastics and lawyers, in an assembly over which the archbishops of Toledo and Grenada presided, having declared their opinion "that Ferdinand and Isabella were not obliged to keep their promise with these infidels." On this occasion much blood was shed; many were deprived of their liberty, and many of their property. Ximenes extended his fury to the literature of the Arabs, and ordered their books to be destroyed. The vigor of these proceedings was renewed under the reign of Charles the Fifth.

In no country was the inquisition more destructive in its effects, or the conspiracy of the throne and altar against the spirit and character of the people more dreadfully successful, than in Spain. The Spanish soldiers at that period possessed a superiority which is only to be attained by a long course of experience in wars carried on chiefly by infantry: none but the troops of Switzerland and the janissaries were to be compared with them.

Domanial territories and subsides were the sources of the revenue. The crown lands which had been alienated by the last king of Castile (A. D. 1480), were revoked by a decision extorted from the cortes of Toledo, by means of a commission, the president of which was a Hieronymite friar.

One branch of the domanial revenue of Arragon, had been rendered peculiarly productive by Don Pedro the Fourth. Even in the times of the Romans, the wool of the Spanish sheep had been improved by the introduction of Arabian rams. This ancient example was followed by Pedro with great success; and the management introduced by him was imitated in Castile by Ximenes, who, as minister, succeeded to Mendoza. From this time, Spain has been annually traversed by five millions of sheep, which are conducted by twenty-five thousand shepherds: ten thousand compose a flock, and each flock is divided into ten stocks. The annual produce of each sheep is estimated at twenty-four reals, the fourth part of which sum belongs to the king: all the flocks were originally his property: the

last was sold by Philip the Second; but the laws and the council of the great royal flock still subsist. The sheep travel every year, in forty days, from the sources of the Duoro and Ebro, four hundred miles, into the southern districts; and through this whole route, which lies through corn fields, gardens, and vineyards, a path of at least ninety feet wide is everywhere open to them. This migration proceeds, as in the Alps, from the impulse of nature; and if deprived of the guidance of their shepherds, the sheep would still wander forth and find their favorite pastures.

During the war which Alfonso the Eleventh, king of Castile and Leon, carried on at Algesiras, against Abu Hafo, a prince of the dynasty of the Merinides, the alcavala, or great tax on all purchases, was first raised, with the consent of the states of the kingdom. This impost is levied upon all the products of the earth and of human art, and is reckoned at ten per cent. The collection of this revenue employs a countless multitude of officers, and gives occasion to frequent searches, which are in the highest degree oppressive to domestic life. One branch of the alcavala is the trade in salt, of which commodity every village is compelled to purchase a certain quantity: the people are not allowed to sell any portion which they may be unable to consume; and in order to enhance the price of this article, some of the salt works have been destroyed, and the approaches to others are secured by a guard of soldiers.

SECTION IX.

AMERICA.

The discovery of the New World opened to the catholic kings unexpected sources of wealth. Men of great genius and extraordinary acquirements had been occupied, for a century preceding this period, in investigating the ocean, in the hope of finding a more expeditious or convenient passage to the East Indies than through Egypt. A tradition existed, that when the Moors inundated Spain, seven

hundred years before this time, a Portuguese archbishop, accompanied by seven bishops and a great body of Christians, had found refuge with their flocks in an island beyond the great ocean, called Antilia or Septemtirade: it was known that a country called Wine-land had been discovered beyond the ocean by the Normans; a ship which had been carried far out to sea by a storm in the fifteenth century, was reported to have visited such a country. Marine charts at Venice, and the remarks of Behaimb, an inhabitant of Nuremberg, who constructed a globe, contributed to strengthen the conjectures of enterprising individuals.

Christopher Columbo, a native of Genoa, in order to ascertain the foundation of these opinions, after tedious solicitations and delays, at length succeeded in procuring assistance from Ferdinand and Isabella. He obtained about two hundred and fifty ounces of gold in heavy masses, from the inhabitants of the Antilles and St. Domingo, and observed some of them to be possessed of ornaments of the same metal: avarice was excited by these circumstances, to prosecute the new discoveries with greater zeal; but the adventurers were subjected to a tax for the royal treasury, amounting to the half of the silver, and a third of the gold, which they should acquire in St. Domingo and Cuba. It was soon found that this impost was out of all reasonable proportion to the expenditure of the adventurers; and the court was therefore obliged to lower its demands to a fifth of the silver and a twentieth of the gold. Romano Pane, however, a Spanish missionary, who discovered tobacco in St. Domingo, contributed essentially to improve the revenue from this quarter: for that weed became not less productive than the gold mines to the royal treasury.

America, for a long time, seemed an inexhaustible source of riches: in the earliest period, when only the mines of the Antilles, of comparatively trifling value, were known, the amount appeared incalculable; and yet the influx of the precious metals, from the New World into Europe, continued progressively to increase during an hundred and forty years. Newfoundland and the neighboring continent

were discovered about this time by John Cabot, an Englishman, and by the French: but the search was carried on with the greatest activity before the discovery which the Spaniards made of those remarkably profitable mines, the produce of which was so abundant, as to render it impossible any longer to work such as had been previously known, with an adequate return. After the lapse of an hundred and fifty years, America acquired a new and more noble source of interest.

Such were the dominions and the prospects of Ferdinand and Isabella. Their only son died before his parents, and without heirs; and the prize of the exploits of so many heroes and of ancient and modern policy, fell consequently, by the marriage of their eldest daughter, Johanna, to the archduke Philip; who was the only son of Maximilian and Maria of Burgundy.

SECTION X.

MILAN AND SWITZERLAND.

A. D. 1500. In the same year in which Charles the Fifth, son of Philip, was born, Lewis the Twelfth, king of France, acquired the dukedom of Milan. Valentina Visconti, wife of Lewis of Orleans (who was the ancestor of Lewis, brother of Charles the Wise), had given rise, during her life, to many calamities; and the title derived from her name gave occasion to the Milanese war, which was undertaken in order to expel the family of Sforza. Both the king and the duke calculated especially on the assistance of the Swiss.

A. D. 1499. The Swiss were at this time engaged in the last war against Austria, which had been excited chiefly by the interests of the Grisons. The Rhætians, inhabitants of that territory, were a free and active people, and had by degrees united themselves into confederacies, in imitation of the Swiss: like the latter, these republicans were moderate enough to content themselves with such a degree of freedom as was consistent with the established

privileges of the barons. A. D. 1424. Austria retained its ancient rights of sovereignity over the greater part of the league of ten jurisdictions, until the middle of the preceding century, at which time its claims were alienated by a peaceable contract: and it still possesses Räzun, and exercises the constitutional privilege of that sovereignty, by nominating, every third year, the judge of the upper country of the Grisons. The freedom of these people was at that time an object of apprehension to their neighbors, who dreaded lest they should extend their territory into the country of Tyrol, and the whole eastern district of the Alps. In addition to this, the nobility of Swabia hated the Swiss on account of the events of ancient wars, and despised them for their democratic simplicity, while the citizens and peasants of that country envied their freedom: and in proportion as the Swiss showed themselves disposed to cultivate a good understanding with France, they became obnoxious to the displeasure of Maximilian, who entertained a personal as well as a political animosity against the French.

A. D. 1495. The Swiss and the Grisons having formed a mutual alliance, a war broke out against the confederates, in which all the adherents of Austria, in Upper Germany, took part. A. D. 1499. This contest, the theatre of which extended from the boundary of Tyrol to Basel, lasted ten months: during that time, eight battles were fought, in all of which the advantage was decidedly in favor of the Swiss; nearly two thousand citadels and villages were destroyed, and twenty thousand men lost their lives. This war ended in a treaty, which was concluded at Basel, and which was zealously promoted, for their own purposes, by France and Milan.

The king, indeed, by means of a large sum of money, procured a renewal of his alliance with the republic; but both he and the duke obtained soldiers against the will of the magistrates, so that both the hostile armies contained Swiss troops. The duke was betrayed near Novara, by Turnean, a native of Uri (A. D. 1500); who was afterwards executed for his treachery to his native country. Milan continued twelve years under the yoke of the French.

SECTION XI.

ITALIAN WARS.

Lewis the Twelfth had no sooner completed this conquest, than he concluded a treaty for the partition of the kingdom of Naples, with Ferdinand, king of Spain. Frederick, the son of the first Don Ferrando, had nothing but his rights to oppose to these acts of oppression; and was consequently obliged to submit. A. D. 1501. But the army of Lewis was soon reduced by an extraordinary mortality; the joint effect of the climate, to which the French were unaccustomed, and of their licentious conduct: the Italians were also offended by their domineering manners and their neglect of decorum. The Spaniards were free from all these disadvantages; and, therefore, when the partitioning powers disagreed about the prize of their injustice, the superiority was on their side. Ferdinand had, besides, in Gonsalvo de Cordova, a skilful general for his army, which was itself under excellent discipline. A. D. 1503. The French were again driven from their conquests, which remained in the possession of their opponent and of his family.

Lewis afterwards formed a league, at Cambray, against the Venetians, with his enemies, the emperor and the king of Spain, and with pope Julius the Second. A. D. 1509. The senate, in this emergency, opposed the superior power of its enemies with great firmness: its generals displayed courage and skill; and its subjects an invincible attachment to the cause of the republic. An opportunity soon occurred which rendered it practicable for the perseverance of the Venetians to effect the disunion of a coalition between courts of such different interests; and Lewis now perceived that the emperor, the pope, and the king of Spain, had combined with the Venetians, and the Swiss whose pride he had imprudently offended, to expel him from Italy. They effected their purpose (A. D. 1512); and Maximilian Sforza, son of the imprisoned Lodovico Moro, was restored to his dignity. The Swiss gained a victory at No-

vara, which not only completed the conquest of this duchy, but encouraged them to make an irruption into France; and the king was obliged to conclude a peace at Dijon (A. D. 1513), which, though he did not observe it, manifested the difficulties that surrounded him.

After his death, Francis commenced his warlike reign by a passage across the Alps (A. D. 1515), which has been not unjustly compared to that of Hannibal. He effected a division among the Swiss; defeated in the battle of Marignano, which lasted three days, that party which remained firm in its attachment to duke Sforza; regained possession of the dukedom of Milan; and renewed treaties of alliance with the Swiss and the Venetians.

Loredano, doge of Venice, who was now nearly eighty years old, had thus the satisfaction of seeing the storm which had so fearfully threatened the destruction of the republic, pass away without any important ill effects. The Swiss concluded a peace with Francis the First (A. D. 1516), which subsists between themselves and the French to this day (A. D. 1521); and a treaty of alliance, which has been seven times renewed.

That great problem, which of the great powers should acquire the preponderance over all others by the conquest of Italy, the solution of which had been contested for twenty years, remained undecided: the Spaniards domineered at Naples, and the French at Milan.

SECTION XII.

CHARLES THE FIFTH.

A. D. 1516. The battle of Marignano was soon followed by the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, who had already survived his queen and his son-in-law Philip, and had lately augmented his power by the acquisition of Upper Navarre. John of Albret governed the kingdom of Navarre in right of his wife, Catherine de Foix; and had taken part in the wars of the greater powers with Lewis the Twelfth. A. D. 1512. On this latter account he

was excommunicated by the pope, and was expelled by that obedient son of the church, the catholic king: he kept possession, however, of the lower districts and of Bearn.

Charles of Austria, the son of Philip, grandson of the emperor, and heir of the hereditary sovereignties of Austria and Burgundy, succeeded, in the sixteenth year of his age, to all the power of Ferdinand in Spain, Italy, and America. His mother Johanna, the daughter of Ferdinand, had lost her husband, Philip the Fair, in the twenty-sixth year of his age; and her grief on this occasion was so excessive as to deprive her of reason, in which condition she survived nearly fifty years. Three years after the death of Ferdinand, Charles succeeded his grandfather Maximilian in the imperial dignity. Fortunate adventurers conquered, for his advantage, the extensive, populous, and wealthy empire of America, and subjected the powerful Navatlaks of Mexico, and the peaceful and magnificent sovereignty of the children of the sun, the Incas of Peru. Charles possessed great power on the coast of Africa, and drove the French from Milan; and his brother acquired the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. The house of Austria had arrived at this pitch of greatness only a little more than thirty years after that period, when Frederick the Third had found himself unable to maintain his authority in Vienna.

SECTION XIII.

PORTUGAL.

Manoel, king of Portugal, whose reign is justly called the golden age of that nation, closed his life about this time. A. D. 1521. During his administration, Vasco de Gama had landed at Calcutta, on the coast of the East Indies, after a voyage of ten months; and Amerigo Vespucci, the fortunate Florentine, who has given his name to the world which was found by Columbus, shortly afterwards discovered the rich country of Brazil. A. D. 1498. Pearo Alvarez de Cabral also sailed thence to the country of the Zamorin of Calecut, while Gama and his successors

explored the whole coast of Mozambique, Sofala, and the East Indies; and Albuquerque soon rendered Goa the seat of a Portuguese empire. The Hindoos were at this time particularly unable to withstand the Portuguese, because they were oppressed by the Mogul sultan Babr, the conqueror of Bengal and Guzurat.

Every fresh expedition brought new constellations, foreign manners, strange animals and plants, and unknown appearances of nature and of man, within the limits of European knowledge.

In the internal administration of Portugal, principles were adopted similar to those which had been introduced in Spain: the kings of the former country appropriated to themselves the grand-mastership of the ecclesiastical knighthoods of Aviz, Christi, and St. James, and thus acquired the patronage of six hundred and seventy-six benefices. These privileges, together with the pensions which they had always been accustomed to assign out of the produce of the crown lands, to the descendants of those heroes by whose assistance the kingdom was founded, was sufficient to render the nobility dependent on the court; especially as the ecclesiastical knights were not in Portugal, as in other countries, absolutely prohibited from marrying. Hence the families of the nobles were more numerous but less independent; and hence the nobility, as a body, were less powerful in this kingdom than in others, while the authority of the clergy was greater here than in almost any other country.

The states of the kingdom were still powerful; and they suffered the brother of king Edward, and of the noble prince Henry, to die a captive in the hands of the Merinides, rather than consent to ransom them, by restoring the fortress of Ceuta. They exercised the legislative authority, in conjunction with the king; but Don Joan the First favored the Roman jurisprudence, which affords support to absolute power. The laws of the country were arranged in the reign of Manoel, in five books.

SECTION XIV.

FRANCE.

No king of France, since the age of Philip the Fourth, had more zealously contributed to the importance of the parliaments than Lewis the Eleventh. This prince established a parliament at Grenoble, while yet only dauphin: as soon as he succeeded to the sovereignty, he divided the district to which the jurisdiction of the parliament of Toulouse extended, and erected a new court at Bourdeaux, for the country beyond the Garonne; and after the reunion of the duchy of Burgundy, he introduced the parliament at Dijon. He caused writings relative to treaties of peace and financial regulations to be prepared in that of Paris, because he found that it was necessary to allow the nation to retain the appearance of some participation in public affairs; and that magistrates, who owed their official existence to his favor, were more accommodating than the nobles and states-general. The parliament was gained over by these means to the court party, and seldom or never raised its voice in favor of the rights of the ancient national assemblies. In like manner, during the evil times of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, when the court and the different factions endeavored in all possible ways to strengthen their power, even the universities had been allowed to assume political influence.

Lewis the Eleventh rendered himself more and more independent: the crown estates were considerably augmented during his reign. The nation, during that of his father, had allowed the *taille* to be rendered perpetual; and he observed the most exact economy, as well with regard to receipt as expenditure. His own inclinations were so far from expensive, that his manner of life was such as would hardly be thought suitable to a private man of good fortune. His annual revenue amounted to 4,700,000 pounds; a sum which, according to the computation of Henault, would have been equal to 23,000,000 in the money of the age of Lewis the Fifteenth.

He formed the principal instrument of the power of the kingdom, which was a standing army, consisting chiefly of foreign mercenaries, dependent on himself. A body of seven thousand Scots had been commanded by Douglas, one of their own countrymen, under marshal de la Fayette, in the last English war, out of whom Charles the Seventh formed a Scottish body-guard. The kings of Scotland were, from their situation, the natural allies of the French. Lewis the Eleventh concluded the first subsidiary treaty with the Swiss, by which the kings of France acquired the privilege, with the concurrence of the Swiss magistrates, of recruiting their armies in the cantons. It has been calculated that 500,000 Swiss have entered the French service within three centuries. The national army, properly so called, or gens d'armerie, consisted of forty-five appointed companies, each of which contained one hundred men at arms; and every man had six horses. A militia, called Frank-archers, served among the light cavalry as well as with the infantry; but Lewis changed their constitution, and formed them into a better organized body of 10,000 infantry: in their former state they lay dispersed throughout the whole kingdom; but he now kept them collected in more considerable bodies, ready to execute any sudden command. Their only employment was the use of their arms, manœuvres and tactics. The mode of conducting war acquired a new appearance; and it was no longer in the power of the vassals, with their contemptible banditti, to withstand the troops of the king.

The power of the monarchy was thus increased by the vigilant use which the court made of favorable occurrences; while the states-general, who were seldom assembled, and consequently had opportunities of becoming acquainted with public affairs only at distant intervals, proceeded unsystematically. If, as there is reason to believe, the weakness of the intermediate power is destructive of the interests of a monarchy, the parliaments deserve to be severely censured; for they continued their sessions uninterruptedly, and had therefore the opportunity of forming and pursuing a system of political maxims, but they paid more regard to the interests of their own college, than to those of the commonwealth.

There remained at length only the three following fundamental maxims of policy in France: "That the royal authority can never descend to a female; that the crown lands are unalienable; and that the minority of the king ceases at the expiration of his thirteenth year." The first is an ancient civil law, founded upon the military habits of the Salic Franks, and might, perhaps, have been universally introduced with advantage: the second may be modified by imperious calls of state necessity; and the third, an institution of Philip the Third and Charles the Wise, is scarcely conformable to nature, which rarely renders a child thirteen years and one day old, capable of managing all the interests of a nation consisting of 25,000,000 people.

The chancellor, or officer to whom state affairs were referred, was anciently the king's deputy in matters of business: the secretaries were under his direction; and all affairs were expedited by the notaries. At the conclusion of the fifteenth century, the royal council of state was formed, which consisted of the above-mentioned officers, and of an indeterminate number of counsellors; it was the common point in which the conduct and direction of all public business centered. Charles the Eighth declared this body to be a supreme court of judicature (*cour souveraine*), and thus rendered it a fit instrument for keeping the parliaments in order.

Since the introduction of regular standing armies, the financial department was become much more important to the prosperity of the state; and the title of secretary of finance, ever since Florimond de Robortet had filled the office in the time of Charles the Eighth, had been exchanged for that of secretary of state. The only ground of a claim to the dignity of counsellor of state, was the will of the king; and Lewis the Eleventh used to prefer persons of no original importance, whose greatness was entirely owing to his favor; who had no peculiar privileges which they were anxious to protect; and who existed exclusively for him and for the execution of his purposes. A preponderating authority was conferred in succeeding reigns, sometimes on an individual minister, and sometimes on

several, according to the caprice of the regent, or to the circumstances of the age: but even under the most feeble administrations, the error of the Merovingian race, that of suffering power to remain hereditary in a family, was avoided: the competition for such dignities indeed, rendered such a mistake hardly possible.

In those provinces which possessed written laws, justice was administered according to the Roman code, while in others the judicial decisions were founded on two hundred and eighty different laws of precedent; and were in all points influenced by the royal ordinances. The trial by ordeal, so common among the ancient Franks, had been abolished by St. Lewis; and the appeals to judicial combat were circumscribed by Philip the Fair.

After the death of Lewis the Eleventh, the parliament of Rouen was formed from the echiquier, or district list of the ancient dukes of Normandy: Lewis the Twelfth erected another for Provence at Aix; and Francis had scarcely secured himself in his dukedom of Milan, when he provided that state with a similar court.

But it was not in this instance alone that the maxims of Lewis the Eleventh were adopted by his successors: the military force of the kingdom, as it was the chief instrument in the maintenance of their power, continued to be the principal object of their solicitude. They had inherited from him a code of military law, improved artillery, and a body of Swiss infantry: Charles the Eighth augmented the latter description of force, and surrounded his person with the body-guard of one hundred Swiss. The German infantry, and the black bands alone, which constituted a body of six thousand troops, originally formed in the Netherlands, were equally celebrated in the wars of that age. Francis the First, probably incited to this attempt by the excellent treatise of Macchiavelli, endeavored to reduce the militia of France to the form of the Roman legions; but his undertaking was unsuccessful, only because he confined his attention too exclusively to the form.

SECTION XV.

SWITZERLAND.

Switzerland, after the war with Burgundy, was torn to pieces by foreign and domestic factions; especially by the jealousies which had subsisted, from a very early period, between the inhabitants of the country and those of the towns; and which were augmented to the highest degree, when Bern endeavored to introduce Soluturn and Freiburg into the perpetual confederacy.

Freiburg had been founded (A. D. 1178), like Bern, by the dukes of Zäringen; but on their own hereditary domains, and not on the territory of the empire: hence this city descended by inheritance to the counts of Kiburg (A. D. 1277), who sold it to the family of Habsburg-Austria (A. D. 1452); from whom it passed, in a similar manner, to the dukes of Savoy. Freiburg, however, from time to time, purchased immunities, and at length obtained independence: but a system of policy was requisite (A. D. 1478), in order to place her on an equality with Bern, as the attention of many of the directors of her affairs was turned rather to foreign powers than to the real interests of the state: the noble families, besides, intermixed far less with those of the citizens than at Bern; and it was impossible to produce an uniformity of manners and principles, in a community in which the classes inhabiting the upper and lower streets could never be brought to speak the same language.

Soluturn was originally more independent than Freiburg, and had to defend itself chiefly against the encroachments of the cathedral of St. Ursus. Austria pretended to no rights over this city, and only twice attempted (once by force of arms, and once by secret intelligence) to obtain possession of the town. The citizens had the advantage, in the first attempt (A. D. 1318), by their magnanimity: the enemy having fallen into the Aar by the breaking of the bridge, they rescued them as they were carried down by the current, supplied their wants, and then set them free.

The other design (A. D. 1382), that of scaling the city by surprise, was discovered by a faithful rustic.

Freiburg was frequently engaged in inveterate wars against Bern, while the latter had been, from ancient times, in alliance with Soluturn. After the Burgundian war, Bern endeavored to introduce both these cities, which had faithfully adhered to her during the contest, into the Swiss confederacy; but the inhabitants of the country were so jealous of the designs of the citizens, that a conspiracy broke out at Lucern (A. D. 1480), the object of which was the destruction of the town walls, and the introduction of unlimited democracy. This division so inflamed the animosity of the two classes, that there was reason to apprehend danger for the stability of the union.

There resided at this period, in a lonely part of the canton of Underwalden, a man named Nicolaus von der Flue, descended from an ancient and respectable family, who in his youth had been a warrior in the service of his country, but since his fiftieth year had devoted himself exclusively to the contemplation of God and of nature, and who was accustomed to communicate his precepts of wisdom, simplicity, and patriotism, to all who visited him. When brother Claus (as he was now usually called) became aware of the impending danger, he repaired to Stanz, where the confederates were assembled: the tall spare figure of the hoary-headed man filled them with veneration: he told them "that God, who had bestowed freedom and victory on the ancient Swiss, had revealed to him, that unanimity was the only method by which those blessings could be maintained, and that immoderate desires are the most formidable enemies: that Freiburg and Soluturn deserved to be received without distrust; and that it should be established as a fundamental maxim, that no state in the union should aggrandize itself at the expense of another, or endeavor by force to introduce changes in its constitution." His advice was followed in both respects; and it was enacted, that in the event of any internal commotion, Freiburg and Soluturn (to which Basel, Schafhausen, and Appenzell were afterwards added) should use their influence solely for the purpose of mediation, instead of increasing the disturbance by taking the side of either party.

A. D. 1501. Basel and Schafhausen, which were received into the confederacy twenty years afterwards, had both established themselves in the neighborhood, and under the protection of ecclesiastical foundations; some noble families were at the head of their constitution, until they were either destroyed or reduced to poverty in private quarrels, and in the wars against the Swiss; after which the supreme power devolved on the tribes into which the citizens were divided. The constitution of the two states afterwards continued to differ in this respect; that while at Basel the nobles were entirely excluded from public affairs, at Schafhausen they retained one or two associations, after the manner of tribes, which like those of the other classes, take their share in the administration.

Appenzell is a very elevated region in the Alpine district, which has formed itself around the mountain called Hohen-Sentis. This desert at first afforded pasturage to roving shepherds, who depended on the abbot of St. Gall for protection and the rites of worship; but having increased in numbers and wealth, and finding themselves oppressed by the governors appointed by the abbot, they joined in an insurrection against him (A. D. 1403); displayed, in many engagements and campaigns, a degree of valor which appeared almost romantic; and became the terror of the nobles, from the Thur to the Tirol. At length they compelled the abbot to acknowledge their rights. These circumstances, together with other difficulties into which the abbot fell, in common with the city of St. Gall which arose in the vicinity of his monastery, induced him to conclude a right of citizenship or a defensive league, with Zurich, Lucern, Schwyz, and Glaris (A. D. 1451); which from that time elected alternately, out of their own body, a headman or district-chief over his territory. Under these circumstances, the town of St. Gall and the district of Appenzell thought it necessary to render their ancient connections with the Swiss stronger and closer. From that time the privileges of the prelates and the liberties of the people were for the greater part defined with mildness and equity, and agreeably to the laws: those privileges were however, by degrees, entirely purchased, and both Appenzell and

St. Gall became independent; the former becoming at length the thirteenth canton of the league, and the city, with its abbot, holding the first rank among those which, by various compacts, have been confederated with the Swiss.

The "Lower Union" with the Alsacian and Rhenish towns, was dissolved soon after their common quarrel with Burgundy; the city of Mülhausen alone remaining in alliance with the Swiss, and preserving by their aid an independent political existence, even when the other places were compelled, by the power of Lewis the Fourteenth, to exchange their privileges as imperial cities for the condition of provincial towns of France. The connection of the Swiss with Rothwyl, which is situated in the midst of Swabia, subsisted also a hundred years after this period; until it became impossible, during the thirty years' war, to maintain the neutral system of the confederates in a place so distant.

Biel, which in the first ages of the republic of Bern, connected itself with that city for the sake of protection, and which became a Swiss town chiefly through its means, remained closely and firmly united with the confederates. Though situated on the border of the German empire, and in some respects subject to an imperial prince, the bishop of Basel, Biel, and the neighboring country maintained a constitution which was extremely complicated, but accurately defined by positive laws.

The various mutual relations of the counts, princes, and people of Neufchatel, gave occasion, in a similar manner, to different connections with Bern, Freiburg, Soluturn, and Lucern. An ancient race of counts, during the middle ages, had cultivated and governed the country on the shores of the lakes of Biel and Neufchatel, and other estates which extended far up toward the Alps; and Rudolf of Habsburg, when king, had bestowed the feudal superiority to the lords of Chalons, ancestors of the princes of Orange. The county of Neufchatel (for all the rest had been previously lost by wars and misfortunes) descended from the family of the first sovereigns, to heirs whose claims were founded on marriages: these were the counts of Freiburg in Swabia, the margraves of Baden and the dukes of

Longueville. The lord paramount in vain asserted that the succession belonged to himself: the people of Neufchatel, Bern, and other Swiss cantons, opposed his pretensions. Before the line of the dukes of Longueville expired, the upper Burgundian family of Chalons-Orange became extinct, as well as the principal branch of the house of Nassau itself, which, by the right of an heiress, had acquired Orange, together with the remaining claims belonging to that house. These claims, as far as they affected Neufchatel, were transferred by William of Orange, king of England, to Frederick king of Prussia. A. D. 1694. When, after the extinction of the family of Longueville, the succession became an object of contention among many distinguished personages, the states of the country declared for the king (A. D. 1707), who assumed the title of count, with the dignity of a sovereign prince. A. D. 1708. Neufchatel, amidst all its changes of administration, had gradually acquired a constitution as perfect as could reasonably be desired: all the departments of the government were happily balanced; the decision of disputable points was entrusted to Bern, and the security of the whole constitution to the four cantons which had the privilege of citizenship.

The seven Ceuts, which constitute the territory of the Upper Valais, were distinguished from an early period of history by their love of freedom and democracy. The noble families of Thurn, of Gestelenburg, and of Raron, when they became too powerful in the estimation of the people, were expelled by a tumultuary ostracism, and their fortresses demolished. The bishop of Sitten, who had transferred to the king the ancient earldom, or presidency of the country, was obliged to submit himself to the will of the multitude. None of their other neighbors were so formidable to the people of Valais as the count of Savoy; who, partly in right of his office as beadle of the ancient monastery of St. Maurice, domineered over the Lower Valais and the neighboring districts. This country therefore endeavored, at an early period, to obtain the friendship of Bern and of the Swiss democracies; and was protected by the former against Savoy, and by the latter against any

usurpations that Bern might have been inclined to make. Lower Valais was at length taken from the house of Savoy by force of arms. Matthæus Schyner, bishop of Sitten and a cardinal, during the Italian wars, in which he took part, rendered himself and his country important to the contending powers: and he exercised such influence in all the affairs of Switzerland, by his distinguished talents as a popular leader, that his friendship was courted by kings and emperors. The prize which the confederates gained in these wars, consisted in some districts of Milanese territory lying at the foot of St. Gothard, which are to this day (A. D. 1512) governed by bailiffs appointed alternately by twelve of the cantons. At a still earlier period, during the sovereignty of the Visconti (A. D. 1403), the three cantons nearest Milan had taken possession of the whole valley of Leventina, which is surrounded by mountains, and of the pass of Bellinzona; and to these were now added (A. D. 1519) the fortress of Locarno, the flourishing districts of Lugano, and some other vallies: there were other places, during these calamitous times, destitute of protection and of a magistracy, which, of their own accord, acknowledged the government of Switzerland.

The Rhætians confirmed their authority in the mountains of Bormio, in the opulent Valtellin, and at Chiavenna, situated at the entrance of their passes. Hence the Swiss could always take their choice, whether they would await the approach of enemies, coming from the south, in their own mountains or at the entrance of that district: and these pastoral tribes, attached to freedom, found means, in these beautiful regions, to obtain compensation for the want of many luxuries.

A. D. 1515. The day of Marignano was the last occasion on which the confederacy displayed its military strength against foreign armies. The pope, duke Sforza, the army of Ferdinand the Catholic, which was lying on the Po, the emperor, and Henry the Eighth, king of England, who were all in confederacy with the Swiss and the Venetians, awaited the conclusion of this action as the signal for joining one party or the other. The giant battle, as it was called by marshal Trivulzi, lasted three days; whence,

after losing many thousand men, the remainder of the Swiss force withdrew into the Alps in such compact and regular order, that their enemies were afraid to pursue them; and from that day forward they remained undisturbed in their own country.

SECTION XVI.

THE TURKS.

Greece and the whole of western Asia obeyed the peaceable Bajessid, son of Mohammed, the conqueror of Constantinople. His kingdom was as yet so pre-eminent in wealth, unity, and military science, that if he had been endowed with the talents and activity necessary to the employment and increase of the advantages which he already possessed, no power in Christendom would have been able to set bounds to his progress. But this opportunity once neglected, was irretrievably lost: for, in the time of Selim and Solyman, the bravest and most illustrious of all the sultans, a more connected system of defence was developed among the states of Europe. Of all the rulers of the Turkish power, next to Mohammed the Second, Selim the First was the greatest. He completed, in the time of Bogdan the Third, the subjection of Moldavia, which had hitherto maintained a valiant resistance under the command of Stephen. The Bojars still retained the privilege of choosing their prince, of which they were afterwards deprived by the effects of their own factious spirit. His grandfather had already rendered the chans of the Crimea, who were the descendants of Jenghis, his vassals and allies; and that dignity was now filled by Sahib Guerai. Asia was the theatre of his heroic achievements.

Ismael, an Arab who was revered by his troops as a prophet and a victorious commander, had dethroned the family of Usong in Persia, restored the faith of the sect of Ali, and established a formidable empire. He fought against the janissaries near Tabriz, and contrived to intercept their supplies. Selim blamed the sultan of the Egypt-

ian mamelukes for this disaster; asserted that he had wilfully delayed the business of collecting provisions; and would listen to no representations on his part. The mamelukes were no contemptible militia: the sultans of Kahira were on friendly terms with Venice and other western powers; they were opulent; and the throne was not unfrequently adorned by a prince of great and amiable qualities, and beneficent and favorable to the sciences, such as they exist in that country. Their territory was the residence of the prince of the faithful, the successor of the great prophet, and the supreme head of the followers of Islam. The reigning sultan, Malek el Ashraf Abul Nasr Seif-ed-din Kausul Gauri, was a chief who preserved order at home, and was respected abroad by the princes of India, the Imam of Yemen, the Nubians, the people of Habesh, and the Europeans: he was possessed of a fleet, and beloved by the mamelukes, to whom he granted unbounded license in all respects not injurious to the sovereignty. A. D. 1516. This sultan fought a battle with Selim in the plains of Dabek, northward of Damascus, and in the beginning of the action took the Turkish camp; but the effect of the artillery, in which his enemy was greatly superior to him, and the treachery of two of his principal commanders, at length compelled him to retreat; and he was killed in his flight by the falling of his horse. Damascus and Jerusalem now surrendered, and Selim became Chadim al Haramaim, or keeper of the sacred places.

Malek el Ashraf Tuman Bey, the nephew and successor of Kausul Gauri, lost his kingdom in a decisive battle which took place near his capital, Kahira: he fought valiantly in person; but the Turks obtained the victory in this instance also by means of their artillery. The traitors who dreaded their master even in captivity, obtained permission from the victor to cause him to be put to death (A. D. 1517); but Selim's joy was damped by the death of his visier, Joseph Sinan, who fell in the battle.

The chalif Motawakkel Mohammed, to whom his father the old Mostamser Abul Sabr Jakub, had transferred that dignity, sent Selim toward Constantinople: and Sinai, with all the Arabian vallies in the vicinity, submitted at his ap-

proach. Just at this time, an admiral returned from an expedition on which he had been sent by the sultan Gauri, at the request of the Venetians, to destroy the new Portuguese settlements in the East Indies: Selim caused this officer to be thrown into the Red Sea, and refused to renew the treaties of commerce with Venice, intending to take possession of all the islands and coasts which that republic possessed in his seas. The destruction of the sultan of Kahira was a greater disadvantage to them than the league which the European powers had concluded at Cambray.

A. D. 1520. Selim was succeeded, after an enterprising reign of eight years, by his son Solyman, who received from the Turks the surname of El Kanuni, or "the lawgiver;" and from the Europeans, that of "the magnificent." He took Erzerum from the Persians, and compelled them to consent to a partition of Jurjistan, or Georgia, which was so divided that three of its seven provinces fell to himself, three remained with its former masters, and the last was given to the prince who was appointed to govern the whole country, but was dependent on both the powers. The conquest of Rhodes (A. D. 1522) cost him 180,000 men: he was unaccustomed to relinquish an enterprise while there remained any possibility of carrying it into effect; and at length, by means of his heavy artillery, triumphed over the undaunted courage of the grand-master Lille Adam, and the knights of St. John. Solyman also vanquished the army of king Lewis of Hungary and Bohemia, in the battle of Mohacs (A. D. 1526); which was followed by the death of his youthful adversary, who was misled into a marshy district where he lost his life. The victor supported the Transylvanian Vayvode Zapoyla, who had been elected king by a part of the nation, against Frederick of Austria, and made himself master of more than half the kingdom of Hungary. A. D. 1527.

SECTION XVII.

RUSSIA.

Nearly at the same period that witnessed the destruction of the Greek empire (A. D. 1462), the czar Ivan Basilovitch raised his kingdom from that state of humiliation produced by internal divisions, which had compelled it for a long time to bend to the yoke of the Tartars: his wife was Sophia, the daughter of Zoe, whose father, Manuel Palæologus, was the last Greek emperor that reigned with dignity at Constantinople. Ivan endeavored to animate his extensive empire by introducing the industry of western Europe; but foreigners were, with reason, terrified at the barbarism of the prevailing customs. This sovereign, having a dispute with the city of Revel, seized on forty-nine merchants, natives of that place, who had settled at Novogorod, kept them imprisoned three years, and entirely confiscated their property.

It appeared, however, that the czar was not deficient in the desire of increasing his importance: he entered into amicable relations with Maximilian (A. D. 1505), who called him "brother;" and bestowed great encouragements and facilities on the commerce of the seventy-three cities of the Hanseatic league. He also approved of the treaties of partition, of which Italy afforded examples; and concluded one of a similar nature with Christian the Second, king of the Danes, against Sweden.

SECTION XVIII.

POLAND.—SCANDINAVIA.

Poland was in this age a considerable power, but the superiority of the czars was already perceptible; to whom this country was obliged (A. D. 1506), even under the reign of a monarch of great talents, to abandon Smolensko and Pleskow. When Sigismund, the son of Casimir, suc-

ceeded to his brothers, John, Albert, and Alexander, a great part of the Sarmatian forests was already cultivated, and Poland was enriched by the exportation of corn; but the state of bondage in which by far the greater part of the nation was held, prevented them from making any progress in the arts of civil life, or in the cultivation of the mental powers: hence the rude productions of the country were exported in their unmanufactured state; all kinds of commerce were abandoned to the Jews; foreign ornaments were purchased at a dear rate; and almost the only enjoyments of life were the pleasures of the table. Their more intelligent king attempted to effect a change in the state of manners; but as he was unable to remove the cause, his endeavors were in vain. In other respects, he availed himself of the rude multitude of his barons and their slaves, who, accustomed to the yoke, were destitute even of the idea of desertion. In Scandinavia, Christian the First, John, and Christian the Second, of the family of Oldenburg, contended with various success against Sten and Swante Sture, champions of the independence of Sweden.

SECTION XIX.

ENGLAND.

A. D. 1461. Edward the Fourth, of the house of York, by force of arms (the only source of power in the absence or impotence of the laws) obtained possession of the throne of England, which had been filled by the innocent Henry of Lancaster; he polluted it with the blood of that mild prince, and left it to his sons under the tutelage of their uncle Richard, a cruel tyrant, who deprived them of their rights, and put both, or at least one of them, to death. A. D. 1483. Edward himself had, in like manner, murdered one of his own brothers. The order of succession to the throne was in confusion; the greater part of the nobility had fallen in the civil wars; and the cultivation, industry, and prosperity of the country were interrupted, and even decayed.

Henry of Richmond was descended, on his father's side,

from the French princess Catharine; who, after the death of Henry the Fifth, king of England, had married Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman: his mother was descended from an illegitimate son of John of Gaunt, the son of Edward the Third, who could not have advanced the shadow of a claim to the crown. Henry's title was utterly deficient; and though he had married a daughter of Edward the Fourth, he made no pretensions founded on that circumstance; perhaps, because he had no irrefragable proofs of the decease of one of her brothers. He defeated the odious Richard in the battle of Bosworth, and was acknowledged king by the parliament. A. D. 1485.

Nothing indeed remained of freedom but the forms: national prosperity, the chief source of the importance of the commons, had vanished; and only the violence of the different parties compelled the kings to pay them some external respect. From this time, every Englishman possessed of a freehold estate of the clear annual value of forty shillings, gave his vote for the election of the representatives of the nation in the lower house: but those possessed of an equal or a superior income, arising from a fief, were not allowed to vote, on the ground that they were not to be supposed independent, as being vassals. On the same principle, a duke of Bedford was expelled from the upper house, because he was too poor to give a vote altogether uninfluenced as a peer of England. It was also enacted, on account of the dependence of the clergy on the pope, that a parliament was capable of legislating without the concurrence of the spiritual, though not without that of the temporal lords.

The times were unfavorable to liberty: numerous conspiracies, and the many circumstances which threatened a renewal of the former disturbances, served the court as a pretence for "acting with a vigor beyond the law."

The king rendered himself more independent of his people, by the economy of his administration; and the projects which he commenced, were prosecuted by the energy of his impetuous son, Henry the Eighth. A. D. 1509. England, her insular situation considered, had her share of influence in the wars of Europe; but her authority was by no means preponderant.

SECTION XX.

THE EMPIRE OF THE GERMANS.

The empire of the Germans was constituted in a most extraordinary manner: it was a federal republic; but its members were so diverse, with regard to form, character, and power, that it was extremely difficult to introduce universal laws, or to unite the whole nation in measures of mutual interest.

The patriotic emperor Maximilian the First, endeavored to remedy this defect, the whole danger of which became apparent in proportion to the advancement of the neighboring power of France. All the territories not comprised in the dominions of one or other of the electorates, were distributed into the six circles of Bavaria, Swabia, the Rhine, Westphalia, Lower Saxony, and Franconia. In the course of the combinations which took place among the powers of Europe, the necessity of order and of vigor in which Germany stood, became continually more manifest; and Maximilian, accordingly, caused these ancient circles to be augmented by the four new ones: viz. the electoral circle, which comprises the four electorates which lie near the Rhine; Upper Saxony, containing Saxony and Brandenburg; the Austrian circle, comprehending the hereditary dominions of the emperor; and the Burgundian, including the territories which his family had acquired by his marriage. Each division of the empire was superintended by a chief magistrate. It was designed that the constitution of each circle should be a representation in miniature of the whole empire; and that each should possess its separate president, assemblies, and regulations.

This was an excellent design; but it was impeded in its execution by the religious dissensions which arose soon after this period. These differences created a party, which exerted a power separate from that of their common country; it acquired leaders of its own, whose projects were generally in opposition to the measures of the supreme head of the empire: and thus, contrary to the ordi-

nary progress of national power, prepared the way for the destruction of unity and national feeling. It afterwards happened, that extensive countries, such as Bohemia and the provinces incorporated with it, though they became more germanized, did not acquire the constitution of the circles: while in many of the circles, one of the ranks obtained the whole power, or at least so decided a superiority, that the observance of the laws was endangered in various ways, and the diets were discontinued: other circles, which retained their ancient forms, forfeited a part of their political importance.

In former times, the contentions between the princes and people of Germany were decided by judges, who usually took the imperial court for their guide; but when the emperors became too much occupied in prosecuting their Italian wars to attend to the concerns of their own country, they delegated the care of administering justice to courts and provincial tribunals. The decisions of these courts, however, were respected only by those who had neither power nor connections sufficient to insure the execution of their decrees: and hence, especially after the decline of the imperial authority, incessant feuds were carried on, under the savage maxim that "might gives right;" and the progress of the national prosperity was necessarily impeded. Maximilian, together with Berchtold of Henneberg, elector of Mayence, and other benevolent princes, long sought for a remedy; and it was finally enacted, that a supreme court of justice, for the adjudication of all causes between the members of the empire, should be erected in perpetuity in some free imperial city. The members of this tribunal were at first (A. D. 1495) elected by the diet of the empire: afterwards (A. D. 1507), the emperor chose two assessors as representatives of the circles which belonged to him: all the electors followed his example; and eight assessors were chosen by the six elder circles. A perpetual internal peace was now proclaimed; all feuds were prohibited; and an imperial regency was instituted, which, whenever Flanders or Italy should require the emperor's presence, might always remain at the head of affairs, in order to guard against sudden emergencies.

The alterations which had taken place in the manner of conducting war, had a considerable influence on the affairs of Germany; as the emperors, instead of the ancient military services, henceforward required proportionate pecuniary contributions, by means of which they procured infantry: and George of Frundsberg quickly organized this force according to the best maxims of the military art of those times.

The election of Charles the Fifth, the first emperor to whom conditions were formally prescribed, appears a suitable occasion for taking a brief survey of the electors, as well as of the imperial powers.

The monarchs of Germany were nominated in the beginning by the previous agreement of the prelates and dukes, and proposed to the people, who were assembled in great multitudes: they were accepted by the latter, and enthroned on the ancient royal seat near Rense on the Rhine; or at Aix-la-Chapelle, the residence of Charlemain; or at Frankfort, which in that age was situated nearly in the middle of the empire; or in any other place which circumstances rendered expedient. A greater or smaller number of princes was summoned, according to the circumstances of the times in which each election took place; until by degrees, though without any positive law, it became established, that the three archchancellors of the German, the Italian, and the Burgundian territories, the latter of which had been acquired in the eleventh century; the elector palatine of the Rhine, as the emperor's original representative; the duke of Saxony, who of all the dukes of ancient Germany was the only one that retained sufficient power; together with the margrave of Brandenburg, and the king of Bohemia, who were the most powerful princes on the frontiers, where the Teutonic and Slavonic tribes were intermixed; were alone necessary to the election of the emperor.

This institution was rather the effect of accidental circumstances, than the result of a plan of national representation; unless we consider Swabia, Franconia, and other important countries, to have been represented by the archbishops in whose metropolitan dioceses they were included:

and even in this respect, no provision was made for the people of Bavaria, Austria, and other countries. In reality, the dukes of Bavaria and of Austria were not even mentioned in the golden bull: the former, on account of the minute divisions of their territory, and of the prejudice which Charles the Fourth entertained against them; and the latter, because their power was originally too inconsiderable, and because the elder branch of their family had become extinct at the death of the emperor Frederick the Second; while the younger, under Albert the First, had rendered itself the object of general hatred, and afterwards fell into divisions.

This law of Charles the Fourth professed to introduce no new regulation, but merely to record the established practice; it was, however, like other human performances, not untinctured with the personal relations of its authors. The spirit of the age, and the character of Charles, might induce us to seek for the ground of this institution in a superstitious veneration for the number seven; or in the hereditary offices, the greater part of which were merely conducive to the splendor of the imperial court: such a research would, however, be vain; because the reasons which attached hereditary offices to particular dignities must themselves be sought in considerations of a similar kind.

The manner of the imperial elections, as it was described by the law of Charles the Fourth, and determined by custom, is as follows: as soon as the death of an emperor is announced to the elector of Mayence, as archchancellor of Germany, he invites all the electors to a convention at a specified time, which must be within one month, and is usually held at Frankfort on the Maine. The election itself must take place within three months; and it is completed by such electors as are personally present, and by representatives of the absentees. On the day of the election, they ride, in their electoral habits, from the council-house of the city to the cathedral church of St. Bartholomew: here they hear mass; and having afterwards taken the oath, proceed to the election in secret conclave. When they have decided, either by a majority of votes or unani-

mously, the new emperor is proclaimed to the people from a platform in front of the choir. The imperial insignia consists of a golden crown; a sceptre; a globe called the imperial apple, equally the emblem of universal dominion, and of the emptiness of all earthly things (in reference to which latter object, it was in the Greek empire filled with earth); the sword of Charlemain; the copy of the gospels which was found in his grave; and a mantle which had been presented by an Arabian prince to one of the emperors, and was at that time of great value.

The emperor takes an oath to maintain the profession of the catholic faith; to protect the church and the administration of justice; to restore all the rights belonging to the empire; and to observe a faithful deference to the pope and to the church of Rome. The bystanders then declare, that, "conformably to the apostolic command, which ordains that every soul be subject to the higher powers, they will obey this emperor." The order of this ceremony is an abbreviation of that practised at Byzantium. The emperor now usually creates a few knights; and lastly, repairs again to the senate-house clothed with all his trappings, where he devours a meal fit for an emperor, and is waited on by the electors, who fulfil their hereditary offices with the utmost pomp.

The coronation was formerly performed at Aix-la-Chapelle: but this custom has been discontinued, both on account of the loss of time and the increase of expense with which it was attended. The emperors no longer receive the crown of Lombardy at Monza, or that of the empire from the pope. Since the time of Maximilian, they assume the title of emperor without undergoing the papal solemnity.

The electors are, by their birth, the privy counsellors of the emperor: they ought, in the phraseology of Charles the Fourth, "to enlighten the holy empire, as seven shining lights, in the unity of the sevenfold spirit;" and according to the same monarch, are the "most honorable members of the imperial body." The rights which the emperor can legally exercise without their consent; those which he can exert with their concurrence, but without that of the other

states of the empire; and those which belong only to an universal decision of the empire, have been very variously determined. It is decided that all affairs relating to the enacting of new, or to doubtful interpretations of the ancient laws, to wars, taxes, levies of men, fortifications, treaties of peace and of alliance, shall be determined by the concurrent voice of the electors, princes and states. But as the form of the constitution was more accurately defined at the peace of Westphalia, we shall find a better opportunity to treat of it in the twenty-first book.

At the period of the election which followed the death of Maximilian, Albert of Brandenburg, a nobleman of sound understanding and princely manners, was archbishop and elector of Mayence; Richard of Greiffenclau, who had the prosperity of his country sincerely at heart, filled the same offices at Treves; and count Herman of Wied, a nobleman whose mind was open to truth, and moderate in all respects, at Cologne; Lewis, of the Polish and Lithuanian family of Jagel, had the title of king of Bohemia, which was governed for him by guardians; the palatinate of the Rhine was administered by Frederick, a nobleman of great talents; the elector of Saxony, of the same name, deserved his title of the Wise; and Joachim of Brandenburg was distinguished for his knowledge.

Francis the First, king of France, the victor of Marignano, who as a hero commanded the admiration, and as a man acquired by his open and noble conduct the affection of all who approached him; and Charles of Austria, the grandson of Maximilian and king of Spain, were the competitors for the imperial crown. The election was decided in favor of the prince who sprang from German blood; for his rival was so powerful, and his dominions so near, that the states of the empire would scarcely have been able to maintain their cherished independence under such an emperor.

The power of the emperor was defined by an electoral capitulation, which has not only been renewed at every succeeding election, but has frequently received essential additions. It must be allowed that the imperial authority which was formerly but small, was by this instrument re-

duced to a shadow; and that the electors, without the concurrence of the other states, have transformed the constitution into an oligarchy.

We will now recount the principal points of this law, as it exists at present: the emperor must reside in Germany; all public affairs must be transacted in German or in Latin. The emperor confirms to the states, all their royalties, privileges, rights and usages: he neither introduces foreign troops into the empire without their consent, nor permits others to do so: the states which submit to the administration of the laws, are liable to no forcible proceedings: the emperor undertakes no wars, and enters into no treaties on behalf of the empire, either within or without its boundaries, but with the consent of the electors, or at least of the principal among them: he offers no impediments to the assembling of the diets: he respects, in every thing, the legislative authority of the assembled states: he observes all the *concordats*, or national compacts, with the holy see of Rome: reverted fiefs are to be incorporated with the imperial territories, and not to be, otherwise, arbitrarily disposed of; and even if the emperor himself should hold an imperial fief contrary to the laws, he must give it up at the requisition of the electors: he can neither impose new taxes, nor prolong the appointed duration, or increase the amount of those already granted: he cannot oppose the election of a king of the Romans, which, however, can only take place when he may himself become incapable of conducting the operations of government, whether from physical inability or protracted absence: he confirms the confederacy of the electors and that of the Rhine; and considers the former as the fundamental pillars of the empire, without whose consent he can neither grant a reversion, nor make any alteration in feudal affairs, nor alienate the imperial revenues, nor divert them to foreign purposes: he co-operates with them in introducing a new and solemn regulation respecting the coining of money: he supports the electors in their rank, which immediately follows that of crowned heads and dowager queens; so that even their ambassadors take precedence of mere princes: he can

never demand to see the family compacts of any of the vassals of the empire, nor ever give a new interpretation of feudal duties in favor of his own family: he cannot allow the empire to be drained of men, by subsidiary treaties with foreign powers: he acknowledges a provisional power to reside in the assembled college of electors: he will promote the constitution of the circles, and never prevent the states from assembling in diet: he undertakes to levy no troops without the concurrence of the empire; and the generalship of the empire is bound in duty to the whole body as well as to him: he will never grant assistance to neighboring powers, in such a manner as to endanger the peace of the empire.

Many points however in these obligations, which we have represented in the sense in which they are taken by the party of the states, are of doubtful determination and application; and from the state of affairs, cannot possibly be literally observed. Hence we can only consider as a general result, that the electors have enfeebled the operations of the supreme imperial power to such a degree, (not however in favor of the liberty of the people, but for the acquisition and maintenance of absolute power in their own hands), that the emperor must either remain inactive, or gain them over to his party, or be constantly at war with them.

BOOK XIX.

SECTION I.

CHARLES THE FIFTH.—FRANCIS THE FIRST.—MARTIN LUTHER.

THE house of Habsburg had united under its grasp Spain, Naples, Sicily, Austria, Burgundy, the imperial crown of Germany, Mexico and Peru, and had nearly added Bohemia and Hungary to its acquisitions, when two individuals rescued from its yoke the freedom of Europe. This term is understood to signify the co-existence of a number of states; each of which has its peculiar laws and customs, and offers to those who may be the objects of persecution under any particular government, the choice of a secure asylum among several countries. One consequence of this division is, that the princes of the different states do not, in all cases, venture on such proceedings as they otherwise might adopt, or securely abandon themselves to the negligence of Asiatic despots: on the contrary, the action and re-action of a multitude of interests maintain a certain degree of life in the political frame of Europe.

One of those individuals, by whose means Charles the Fifth was in some degree restrained from availing himself to the utmost of his preponderance, was Francis the First. This prince was the most accomplished knight of that æra in which a Bayard was the ornament of chivalry, and one of the most enlightened and amiable men of the polished age of the Medici: he was monarch of a nation worthy of such a king, and in reality only blamable for possessing, in his own character, the peculiar faults of his people. These defects, however, were such as would perhaps have rendered him incapable of arresting, alone, the progress of

his rival. The other of these champions, originally a private individual, was Dr. Martin Luther, a monk from the county of Mansfeld, and a professor in the university of Wittenberg. This man, who was possessed of sound intellect and of courage, but neither of extraordinary learning nor of cultivated taste; without the aid of any other power than that of common sense exerted on many important subjects, and that of truth wherever he attacked abuses; by his heroism alone, imparted to the half of Europe a new soul; created an opposition which became the safeguard of freedom; and, without any such design, contributed greatly to the successful issue of the contest so long maintained with indecisive results by Francis and his son. There is nothing in history more deserving of consideration, than the spectacle of an individual or a small state, contending victoriously, by such means only as are within the reach of all, against all the gifts of fortune and all the terrors of power.

Nothing was wanting to render Charles the Fifth the greatest prince in Europe, except that quality which Luther opposed to him, the dauntless courage inspired by the consciousness of pure intentions. Charles had from his youth accustomed himself to a certain external moderation in the free country of Flanders, and in the politic court which he inherited from Ferdinand the Catholic. The weakness of his bodily constitution contributed to this habit; and he had a peculiar faculty of foresight, of suspecting every thing, and of regarding every occurrence with distrust. Hence it resulted, that his plans were combined with ability, though the execution was defective: he was not so well adapted for sudden resolutions as for reflection. If, however, he also failed in previously concerted plans, it proceeded chiefly from his not calculating so well the moral as the physical force opposed to him; so that he was unprepared for the disinterested courage of heroism. The higher departments of political science were in his time entirely uncultivated. Charles, it is true, read Thucydides and Machiavel assiduously; but there is a wide difference between merely studying an author, and imbibing so entirely his spirit, as to be enabled uniformly to keep his

principles in view, amidst the turmoil of business and the conflict of the passions. Besides, as every reader sees objects in that point of view to which his inclination directs him, so Charles had chiefly acquired from history the art of dissimulating, which he confounded with the talent of governing. It must be allowed that the contradiction, in his own situation, between appearance and reality, might easily lead him into this mistake: his power appeared immeasurable, while he was in fact under the necessity of concealing the mediocrity of his resources. Though king of the opulent territories of the South, heir of Burgundy and lord of the New World, he was often destitute of money: the gold mines, when first worked, did not immediately produce a great revenue; and political economy was in its infancy. From the want of money proceeded weakness in the military discipline, which was also in itself defective in system. Armies disbanded themselves, or plundered their countrymen, when pay or subsistence was defective; and for the same reason they were the more ready, in the moment of victory, to abuse their fortune by giving a loose rein to licentious passions: the generals were as yet not sufficiently their masters; Charles himself did not possess the commanding character of a hero; nor had tactics confirmed the habit of implicit obedience. Hence enemies, neither better provided with money, nor better instructed in the art of war, often defeated the army of the emperor, through the influence of the moral causes which inspired their own soldiers, and often frustrated the objects even of his victories. It is evident, from the composition of the armies of those days, that their leaders reckoned less upon the dexterity and accuracy of well-calculated manœuvres than upon the impetus of large and unwieldy masses. The companies in the French regiments contained from five hundred to six hundred men. The squadrons of the emperor consisted of sixty lancers in complete armor, one hundred and twenty half-armed cuirassiers, and sixty light-horsemen, furnished with long muskets: his companies of infantry comprised one hundred pikes, fifty halberds, two hundred muskets, and fifty supernumeraries. When the contest was to be decided by

intrinsic force, the advantage was on the side of the troops of France and Switzerland.

If Charles had given up the German empire to his brother, whose character excited less distrust; or if, contented with the power he already possessed, he had renounced all plans of aggrandizement, he would have deserved a more illustrious name.

SECTION II.

THE REFORMATION.

Luther executed a work which had been for ages in a course of preparation.

The leaders of those nations which had destroyed the Roman empire, had adhered to the chair of St. Peter, and had employed its authority to confirm the foundations of their newly erected thrones: the pope was the guardian and common father of the princes and people of the western nations. When he undertook to humiliate the emperors of the German states, the plan laid by his lust of domination proved equally agreeable to the ambition of the princes, and to the independent spirit of the citizens. As the several courts introduced the practice of keeping on foot regular troops in their own pay, money became the support of monarchies; and the riches of the church, especially the large sums which were continually flowing towards Rome, soon came to be regarded with envious eyes. The kings, during successive centuries, had been engaged in endeavoring to diminish the power of the nobles, and in some countries had gained their object; in others, the latter had succeeded, by strenuous exertions, in establishing an independent power. To princes of both these descriptions it naturally appeared insufferable that an ecclesiastical sovereign, residing in a distant country, should exercise authority within their dominions, and in many cases even over themselves.

Those nations which were less exposed to the effects of these political collisions, were, in proportion to the gradual

revival of more liberal habits of thinking, offended at the ignorance, scandalous manners, absurd practices, and tyrannical pride of a hierarchy, who were incapable of perceiving that some attention was necessary, on their part, to the spirit of the times. Even in divine worship, there were many things which had been derived from pagan rites, or invented in the darkness of ancient barbarism; and which had become unmeaning, from the mere lapse of time, or absurd in the view of increasing intelligence: hence the sudden applause which attended the attacks made on such fooleries by Wickliffe in England, and by Huss in Bohemia: but the way had been already in some measure prepared, even for these early reformers, by Berengar of Tours, Henry of Autun, and Arnold of Orleans; by many courageous orators, in synods of the church; by writers in the imperial interest; by insulted Franciscans; by pious mystics, who had expiated in flames the sanctity of their lives; and by wits, who tore the mask from hypocrisy, and held her up to ridicule.

In the fifteenth century, subsequently to the scandalous schism, and to the loud remonstrances of the councils of Constance and Basel, the revival of ancient learning had given a new impetus to the human mind. Among those individuals who successively imparted to the new modes of thinking a vigor which it was impossible to restrain, we must enumerate Nicholas the Fifth, the founder of the Vatican library, who rewarded Philadelphus with a house, an estate, and several thousand ducats, for a translation of Homer; the magnanimous Pius the Second, and his successor, whose merits have not been justly estimated by posterity; the emperor Frederick the Third, who was a lover of botany, chemistry, and astronomy; Alphonso the Wise, who attended the lectures of the Neapolitan professors even in his old age; the liberal Matthias Hunyad, whose pleasure and pride consisted in his intimacy with learned Italians; and above all, the illustrious house of Medici. The growth of knowledge had been gradually developed, chiefly in the flourishing universities of Wurtzburg, Rostock, Lyons, Ingolstadt, Basel, Tubingen, Turin, Poitiers, Toledo, Copenhagen, and Upsal. Hence had

resulted a diffusion of literature, an enthusiastic love, and often a servile imitation of the great authors of antiquity; which, aided by the vigorous and penetrating genius of the age, had produced a freedom of sentiment that disdained to submit longer to the yoke of antiquated terrors.

The Italians, especially the learned Florentines, cast off in their indignation all the restraints by which the purest religion keeps the passions within bounds; and the danger of an unequal union between truth and error, was once more displayed. In the consciousness of their own pre-eminence, they despised the barbarians, as they esteemed the people of the north; and imagined that they could continue to impose upon them with ideas, to which they were themselves far superior. Many important proposals were indeed made; but the court of Rome refused to listen even to the most moderate demands.

Yet the Holy See had already received such lessons of experience as might have sufficed to render it more cautious. In the latter periods of the council of Basel, the affairs of Rome were managed by Æneas Sylvius, a man equal in talent and far superior in courage to Cicero. It had cost him infinite trouble, and no small sums of money, to render the agents of the elector of Mayence manageable, and after having gained the emperor, the duke of Bavaria, and the elector Palatine, to procure at Aschaffenburg, and by degrees every where, the desired authority for the *concorbat* which had been concluded at Vienna. This compact, which was named from Aschaffenburg because the reception which it there met with decided its fate, settled the relations of the German church to the see of Rome, in a manner tolerably advantageous to the latter; but which naturally became, through the increasing demands of the Italians, an inexhaustible source of disputes.

The emperor Maximilian complained that half a million of ducats went annually from Germany to Rome. It happened that a priest, whose mistress had been taken from him, had committed a murder in the public way. The story of the false appearances of the Virgin and the five wounds, played off at Bern, by masked Dominican friars, on a journeyman tailor named Jetzer, is well known. The

sensuality of the South, as manifested by legates and their followers, formed too impudent a contrast with the chaster ignorance of the northern nations: and even among the latter, the priests endeavored too openly to indemnify themselves, by various indulgencies, for the restrictions imposed upon them by their vows.

Lastly, Leo the Tenth, who was liberal to prodigality, and more remarkable for his talents, than for the moderation of his plans or of his manners, had contracted enormous debts with the banking-house of Fugger at Augsburg; partly to defray the expenditure occasioned by the building of the church of St. Peter, the wonder of architecture, and partly for more profane purposes. In order to discharge this debt, it was proposed to publish an unlimited absolution for sins, on pecuniary conditions. It may easily be supposed that the fortunate dealers in this new traffic, who would certainly not forget their own interests, were obnoxious to the envy of their monastic brethren; nor could the Pope fail to excite similar feelings in princes, who could not, without difficulty, procure much smaller sums from their subjects. But this was not enough: Tetzel, one of the preachers of these indulgences, as if with the design of making the scandal as striking as possible, taught openly, that for every species of crime, of whatsoever denomination, absolution might be purchased by money. However strange these doctrines might sound in the German university of Wittenberg, the sober Swiss were not less shocked by the juggles of Samson, another of the sellers of indulgences, who, in his public preachings, imitated the sound which the soul emits, while, at the moment when its ransom is paid, it flies up out of the flames of purgatory.

These occurrences induced Martin Luther, in Saxony, to speak against the validity of such indulgences and all the scandal connected with the traffic, in a powerful voice, which however was but the echo of the universal sentiment. Luther had not that extensive learning which rendered Erasmus so illustrious: but he possessed and cultivated that knowledge of the foundations of religion, which is necessary for the reformation of a church; and nature had endowed him with a clearness of perception which carried

him further in the pursuit of truth than the most elaborate investigations; together with an ardent and vigorous imagination, not the result of ideas acquired by study, but of his internal faculty. His eloquence was of a very popular description; and he employed his native language in a more powerful manner than any of his contemporaries. He was at the same time full of patriotism; and, in maintaining acknowledged truth, a hero. During his life, this vehement man was the guardian angel of peace; and the flames of religious war were kindled immediately after his decease. His frankness procured him the utmost respect from all the princes of his own creed; and he never concealed any thing which he believed to be contemplated by a court, if it were contrary to the interests of his country: his doctrine, whether addressed to the prince or to the peasant, was equally suitable to the duties of the respective ranks. He loved the gentle Melancthon, his fellow-laborer, and admired his superior learning. He might condemn his opponents; but he did not, like Calvin, allow himself to persecute them. Though unconquerably stedfast in presence of the emperor and the empire, and in his opposition to all the art and power of Rome, he was in private life a good man and a cheerful companion; and so disinterested, that he left at his decease scarcely any thing but debts.

Ulrich Zwingli, pastor of the foundation of the Blessed Virgin in Einsidel, and afterwards at Zurich, had, at a still earlier period, testified against the prevailing abuses; but had he not been aided by the fiery zeal of Luther, and by his incessant attacks on the common enemy, Zwingli, like many other well-meaning preachers of truth, would have remained unknown, or would at least have failed to produce any important revolution. He possessed the soul of a patriot and republican, which manifested itself not less in his civil than in his religious undertakings: for he did not satisfy himself with leading his church into the way of truth only; but endeavored to give to his country all the principles and habits necessary to the preservation of freedom. He was as zealous in the cause of civil order, of domestic virtue, and of the beneficent policy of perpetual peace, as in his controversial pursuits. His speeches inspired an irresistible feeling of the necessity of reform.

Later than either of these, arose Jean Chauvin (Calvin) of Noyon in Picardy, a teacher at Geneva. This man, together with the spirit of an ancient legislator, possessed a genius and peculiarities, which gave him in some respects decided advantages: his failings were only the redundancy of those virtues, by means of which he accomplished his work. He also was endued with indefatigable industry in the stedfast pursuit of one object, and with immovable firmness in his principles and his duty: in life and in death he exemplified the seriousness and the dignity of a Roman censor. He contributed in an extraordinary degree to the freedom of Geneva; and his authority united the frequently dissenting administrators. From the influence of his situation and of his native language, he assisted even more than he foresaw, in accelerating the progress of the human mind: for among the Genevese and the French, the principle of free discussion, on which he was obliged at first to ground his own proceedings, and which he afterwards endeavored in vain to control, became more fruitful of consequences than among nations less inquisitive than the former, and less audacious than the latter. Philosophic ideas were hence developed by degrees; which, if not sufficiently pure from the passions and views of their promulgators, have at least banished a host of gloomy and injurious prejudices, and have opened prospects of genuine wisdom in the conduct of life and of superior happiness.

These consequences did not, however, appear immediately: on the contrary, religious controversies gave a wrong direction to many acute minds, and furnished them with employments which are no longer interesting to us: whereas we find in the writings of Italians of that age, and of a still earlier period, more noble principles of human and civil life, and a more unfettered philosophy. It is nevertheless true, that these latter writers, misled by passion and by evil example, surpassed in many respects the bounds of moderation; while the more considerate people of the North required cooler and more accurate investigations.

Luther, as it easily happens in revolutions, was carried, principally by contradiction and opposition, much farther than he at first intended to go; and his cause having once

been adopted by the nation, became invincible. The peculiar character of the work which he performed, was however, like all good religious institutions, negative: he taught nothing essentially new. What can man know of things above the sphere of his senses, more than has been comprised in our records, sentiments, and wishes, from early times? But he destroyed a great portion of the strange garb in which truth had been, in darker ages, enveloped, if not totally hidden. What he suffered to remain, because the newly-opened eye was as yet too weak to endure the full splendor of the day, he left to the labors of later and more mature ages. The Bible, of which he made an excellent translation, was the foundation and support of his whole system.

Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, protected the rising party with the moderation peculiar to his character. John, his brother and successor, was the chief of that body which acquired the name of Protestants, by their protest at the diet at Spires against the regulations of the emperor and the Romish party: he was already inclined to risk every thing in defence of the new doctrine. The Protestants soon afterwards delivered to the emperor at Augsburg, a confession of faith, by which their professions acquired a definite form: and the union which the princes of their party formed at Smalkalde gave them political importance.

A. D. 1547. The war which was conducted by John Frederick, elector of Saxony, Philip, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and other protestant princes, against Charles the Fifth, broke out on the death of Francis the First and of Luther, which happened nearly at the same time, and about fifteen years after the conclusion of the league of Smalkalde. This, like almost all wars carried on by a combination of several states against an individual power, was conducted in a feeble and unconnected manner.

The cause received but little assistance from the popular enthusiasm for the new faith, because the first ardor of this feeling had subsided; and the contest was managed too exclusively by the rulers, without sufficient participation on the side of the people. The elector, moreover, as well as

many others of his party, satisfied themselves with devoutly waiting for miracles, instead of performing the wonders of heroism. The consequence of this error was, that the elector was defeated in the battle of Mühlberg, and made prisoner. A similar fate, shortly after, befell the landgrave, who had submitted with imprudent confidence in the good faith of his enemy.

Charles, free from his rival of France, and from the opposition of the Germans, forgot, in the fulness of his joy, the moderation which had generally distinguished his character: he now thought himself master of the empire (A. D. 1548), and took no pains to conceal this opinion: he had conquered owing to the want of ability rather than to the weakness of his enemies; and his future conduct was more calculated to irritate than to terrify. Francis, whom he had so often defeated in vain, and whom he had formerly made prisoner at the battle of Pavia, was no more. Henry the Second, whose qualities were less brilliant than those of his father, by forming a connection with the very prince who had chiefly contributed to Charles's late victory, became more dangerous to the emperor than the latter had been with all his wars, which were carried on with valor, but almost without plan. Maurice, duke of Saxony, as well as the present elector, was great-grandson to Frederick the Good; but Ernest had transmitted the electorate to his sons, Frederick the Wise, and John the Stedfast, who was the father of John Frederick: Maurice had inherited the territory of Meissen from his grandfather duke Albert, his uncle George, and his father Henry. He, as well as the elector, and the fathers of both them, was attached to the doctrines of Luther: but remarking the political failures of John Frederick, and either foreseeing in them a source of advantage to himself, or fearing that the whole house of Saxony might become a sacrifice to these errors, he attached himself to the party of the emperor. The latter, after the victory of Mühlberg (A. D. 1548), bestowed on him the electoral dignity, which, together with the territory, has ever since remained in the junior line. When the emperor afterwards became either suspected, or detested as a despot by his own party, Maurice resolved to acquire

renown among the Protestants, as he had already derived power from his former connection with the catholic party. He deceived the emperor as to the object of his preparations; and made his attack so suddenly, that Charles, instead of offering any resistance, saved himself by a precipitate flight (A. D. 1552); and the council of Trent was obliged to disperse. The imprisoned princes were hereupon set at liberty; and the disturbances in the empire were settled, first by a convention concluded at Passau, and afterwards by a formal peace in matters of religion. A. D. 1555.

Maurice, however, did not live to witness this contract he died in the bloom of his youth of the wounds which he had received. A. D. 1553. His brother Augustus, the most prudent prince of his age, concluded a compact at Naumburg, with the family of John Frederick, who was also lately deceased. By this agreement, Augustus retained the electoral dignity (A. D. 1554), and the princes of the line of Ernest received Altenburg, in addition to their other hereditary territories in Thuringia. The decease of the counts of Henneburg afterwards contributed to the aggrandisement of both these branches of the house of Saxony. A. D. 1583. While Maurice was obliging the emperor to retreat, Henry the Second had conquered the ecclesiastical principalities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Rochus of Lynar had in vain endeavored to retard the enemy before the first of these places, by his defence, in which art he was the most distinguished man of the age. By these conquests France obtained firm footing in the midst of Lorraine. The bishops transferred to the king the authority which they had hitherto exercised over their cities; and the latter henceforward maintained in the German empire a power divided between the head and the remote members.

From this period the kings of France ceased to prosecute their Italian wars. The dukedom of Milan, which Charles the Fifth had wrested from the former king, was conferred, after the death of Francesco Sforza (A. D. 1535), on the son of the emperor; and nothing now remained to the French in Italy, but the marquisate of Saluzzo. On the other hand, the situation of affairs in Ger-

many became continually more important: the greater dynasties, as those of Saxony and Bavaria, having introduced a law for the indivisibility of their dominions, which provided for the future against those frequent partitions that had formerly enfeebled them. By these means their power acquired a degree of solidity which rendered their alliance more valuable: but at the same time the overthrow of such a dynasty became an object of greater solicitude, in proportion as the consequences must necessarily be of greater importance to the conqueror.

SECTION III.

CONCLUSION OF THE AGE OF CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Charles, more enfeebled by diseases which had impaired his vital powers, and by various causes of dissatisfaction, than by age, took the resolution, soon after the conclusion of the religious peace, wholly to withdraw himself from public affairs. In his youth he had given up his hereditary dominions in Germany to his brother (A. D. 1521); and during one of these frequent intervals in which his confidence in his own fortune failed him (A. D. 1531), had caused Ferdinand instead of his own son to be declared king of the Romans, or presumptive successor to the imperial crown: in like manner he now actually transferred the empire to the former, and all his other dominions to the latter. (A. D. 1555—1556). Endeavors were in vain used to obtain Upper Alsace and Breisach for Philip, in order that he might have, as possessor of Burgundy, a road through his own territory to the Rhine; and that the nearer connection with the Netherlands might remain open from this side. From these causes, combined with other circumstances, a long disunion arose between the politics of the court of Vienna and those of Madrid. This was, however, fortunate for the people of those times: and if, as there is reason to believe, dominions of too great extent are not favorable to the interests of humanity, it has also tended to the prosperity of later ages. Who can calculate

the evils which France might have suffered, if she had been surrounded by the dominions of Philip, during her civil wars of forty years? And if he had been emperor, how would the Hollanders have been able to erect themselves into an independent state, when they must have had to contend with the whole power of the imperial crown, added to their other difficulties?

A. D. 1526. Long before this time, after the battle of Mohacs, in which Lewis king of Hungary and Bohemia had fallen, Ferdinand had been chosen king by the princes and nobles, municipalities and populace of the kingdom of Bohemia (A. D. 1527), on condition of confirming their constitution; a proceeding, as they alleged, consonant with their established freedom. A similar negociation took place in Hungary, in pursuance of a compact which had been concluded in the time of the grandfather of Lewis. But in this country the sultan Solyman, although he failed of success in the siege of Vienna (A. D. 1529), as well as in some of his other enterprises, had contrived, with the assistance of a powerful domestic party, to give effectual support to John Zapoyla, the rebel vaywode of Transylvania: and Ferdinand could neither acquire secure possession of the royal dignity in Bohemia during the life of John, nor obtain command, even after his death, (A. D. 1540), of the capital city of Ofen together with a large part of its adjacent territory, or of the principality of Transylvania. The former descended to the successors of Solyman, and the latter remained under the dominion of John, and of a line of princes most of whom maintained a good understanding with the Ottoman Porte, and occasioned great uneasiness to the king of Hungary.

Meanwhile the internal power of Ferdinand, and of his successors, was increasing: some disturbances had taken place in Bohemia about the time of the battle of Mühlberg, at which period the power of the emperor appeared to be at its greatest height; and Ferdinand took advantage of this opportunity to circumscribe the uncontrolled freedom of election, which the states, composed principally of Hussites, had hitherto exercised. The wars which were carried on against the dreaded enemy of the Christian name,

served as a pretence for introducing imposts which here as well as in Silesia were speedily rendered perpetual: they also excited the zeal of the most distinguished princes and knights; and, above all, they made it appear indispensably necessary, for the security of the west of Europe, that the power of the house of Austria should be augmented.

The prudent and laudable administration of Ferdinand, and especially that of Maximilian the Second, who governed all the subjects of his kingdom, without regard to their articles of faith, with paternal mildness, contributed greatly to the same end.

SECTION IV.

STATE OF RELIGIOUS PARTIES.

Those persons who exercised the greatest influence on the progress of agriculture and commerce, were to be found among the Calvinists. This sect had received from its republican founders, the spirit of economy and strict morality: while others surpassed them in the fine arts, and in every occupation that demands a vivid imagination, their principal pursuits were the acquisition of property, and the severe sciences. They were attached to freedom, on account of the security which it gives to life and property; but they were less remarkable for desire of innovation, than for steadfastness in the defence of their inherited or acquired rights. The disciples of Luther were their equals with respect to industry and economy; but were, on the whole, more attached to the pleasures of social life. They brought Saxony into so flourishing a condition, as well with regard to industry as to literature and science, that this electorate acquired a sort of authoritative pre-eminence over most of the other German states, in all that relates to taste and learning. The diversity of character which each sect thus acquired, rendered the people of the various states of Germany at least as foreign to each other as to the French, or Spaniards; and, under such circumstances, the common feeling necessary to the unity of a nation, could not long subsist.

It was owing chiefly to the exertions of the jesuits, that the *principles* of the reformers did not universally obtain footing, and even superiority. The founder of this order, Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, was a man of warm imagination and strong passions; and his whole soul, endued with these qualities, had abandoned itself in his early years to a vehement zeal for the religion which he professed. After having distinguished himself in war, especially against the infidels, he became the founder of a religious order: an occupation to which he had been strongly inclined from his youth. In the monastery of Montserrat, which is scarcely accessible, situated in a wilderness, and elevated above all the mountains of Catalonia, he copied the rules of a spiritual life, which had been prescribed by a holy abbot, a relation of cardinal Ximenes. His heated imagination represented, in a vision of the night, Mary the mother of Jesus, from whom he received the gift of continence. At another time the mystery of the Trinity was rendered clear to his comprehension, by the tones of a harpsichord. Again, Jesus Christ and Satan appeared to him in the form of recruiting officers; and, like the youthful Hercules, at the diverging paths of virtue and pleasure, he, of course, chose the better part.

The original plan of the order of Jesus was simple, devout, and innocent: after the death of the author, it was improved first by Lainez, and afterwards by Aquaviva; men who were endued with the deepest knowledge of human nature, and immutably steadfast in pursuit of one main object. They deserve, indeed, to be considered as the founders of a society which will bear a comparison with the great institutions of the lawgivers of antiquity: like the latter, this system took entire possession of the will, and of all the faculties of the mind; like them it inspired its members with extraordinary activity, and infused a spirit of obedience so implicit, that the whole order resembled a healthy body, actuated by a vigorous soul. Whoever entered into the society, renounced, as it were, his individual existence, and submitted himself, soul and body, to the general, as though *his* voice was actually that of Jesus Christ. He now stood in the relation of son and brother to the order,

and abandoned all his former and social relations: he might accept offices, but not without the consent of the general, whose known will, even when not formally expressed, was to be his only law. The correspondence, and the learned undertakings of the whole order, were placed under the direction of this officer. It was forbidden to make any interpretations, objections, or conjectures, relating to his orders, or to any thing that he did or might do. Every individual was a jesuit, and no longer a Spaniard, or a German, or a Frenchman; and no man was allowed to harbor a partial affection for any prince or any country. The constitution of the jesuits, in some particulars, remained a secret: even the Pope was acquainted only with the spirit of their institution; and Paul the Third had allowed alterations to be made, without requiring to be informed in what they consisted.

The first fraternity was established by Claudius Aquaviva; and the order, in a short time, possessed congregations of both sexes in every country: here a secret was imparted to an individual; there a key to the house of prayer was given to another: all participated in the privilege of indulgence, and in the good works of the whole community. The order was divided into six assistances, and each of the latter into forty provinces; it possessed 538 colleges, and 22,500 publicly acknowledged members.

We will not investigate the merits of the jesuits with regard to princes or to human nature, but their history proves that they understood the art of disseminating and of confirming certain ideas; that they possessed the means of elevating feeble individuals to the authority of lords of the earth and of its kings, and of placing them, as far as man can be raised, above the instability of fortune; and that they knew how to provide support for the future duration of their society. History records no institution, since the time of Pythagoras, which has been found capable, like this, of giving laws successfully to savages, to half-civilized men, and to nations in a very advanced stage of refinement. The jesuits, without external splendor, had more influence in extensive kingdoms than any order had before possessed; and, without being themselves monks, they exemplified

whatever was worthy of imitation in the lives of the regular and secular clergy. It is said that they made a distinction between those despots who were also usurpers, and those who were tyrannical in the exercise of their legitimate authority; and that they held it lawful for any man to destroy the latter, while they only permitted the people to emancipate themselves from the yoke of the former. They are also accused of allowing breaches of morality of every kind, if it were for the advantage of the order: in reality, they were all things to all men; in Spain and in America they showed themselves to be masters of policy; in France they were men of great learning; and in the catholic parts of Germany, the patrons of prejudice.

SECTION V.

OF THE SITUATION OF THE DOMINIONS OF CHARLES THE FIFTH AT HIS DECEASE.

In the commencement of the reign of Charles the Fifth, the Spaniards made an attempt to recover their political freedom; but their endeavors were unsuccessful, and they were thenceforward content to obey. In other enterprises, however, as well as in inventions and literary productions, they still displayed, during this century, their ancient spirit of bold enterprise; while the Germans were devoted, on one hand, to religious controversies, and on the other, to the grosser pleasures of sensuality. This diversity of character rendered it not easy for one individual to govern both nations; and the difficulty was still further increased by some peculiar circumstances in the situation of certain parts of Germany: thus, on one side, Saxony and Brandenburg were incessantly adopting regulations excellently calculated to augment their resources, by promoting civil order and cultivation; and on another, it was necessary to maintain a very cautious policy towards the princes of the Palatinate, on account of their vicinity to France.

Charles the Fifth neither attached the princes and people of his dominions by confidence and affection, nor held

them effectually in check by the influence of fear. His habits of life were simple, and resembled those of a private nobleman. He usually rose early, and dined at nine o'clock; from one o'clock, his time was occupied by dancing-parties until five, when he supped. His provisions were chiefly furnished by the country in which he happened to reside; but in that age, foxes, seals, and other animals which are now banished from the table, formed a part of the entertainment. In his clothing also, and domestic regulations, he was remarkably moderate. It was, however, his greatest misfortune, that he could never conceal the dissimulation of his character: his words were few, expressed slowly, and in a low unvarying tone: in fact, nothing spoke but his tongue, and none believed him. This potentate, in his fifty-sixth year, gave the world the extraordinary and astonishing spectacle of the renunciation of all his crowns; and withdrew to the monastery of St. Just, which is situated among well-watered gardens and meadows in the plains of Estremadura: there he lived with his sisters, the widowed queens of France and Hungary, like a man whose happiness is entirely independent of external greatness; who felt the charm of equality; and who, having abandoned the business of the world, was best qualified to estimate its worth. He passed two years, and terminated his life, in this retirement. A. D. 1558.

The emperor had given Spain, Milan, Naples, and Sicily, the Netherlands and America, to his son Philip. Mexico and Peru would have been totally depopulated, had not Charles set bounds to the pursuits of avarice and fanaticism, by commanding that the Indian tribes should be re-established, and the mines worked by imported slaves. The aborigines of these countries had not made such progress in the arts of civil life, as to deserve a comparison with the inhabitants of Europe; for they were unacquainted with iron, the principal instrument of agriculture; they were ignorant of the arts of writing and of the use of coin as an instrument of commerce; and derived their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of their bountiful soil. It was, in fact, from this time, that their hamlets began to improve in extent, in strength and civil regulations;

in other words, that their *towns*, according to the European acceptation of the word, began to be numerous: but it is impossible to say to what degree of civilization these nations might have attained, if they had escaped the temporal and spiritual despotism of the Spaniards, to whose yoke they were now subjected.

Charles had contrived to draw from all the other countries which his son inherited from him, as well as from America, sums as large as it was possible to obtain without irritating the people to measures of violent resistance. The consequence of these proceedings was a contest between the different nations of the Spanish monarchy and the court, which became every day more obvious: the people of these countries endeavored to maintain their rights in their ancient forms, while the emperor was attempting to subdue the spirit of liberty. In Italy and Spain, the court succeeded in establishing its uncontrolled authority; while, in the Netherlands, the people recovered their freedom. But the apparent advantages which the government had gained in the former instances, enfeebled the foundation of the monarchy to such a degree, that it has ever since been found impossible to excite, among those degenerate people, any considerable spirit of enterprise for useful undertakings. Rulers are willing enough to encourage industry in the arts and in productive branches of science, provided that their subjects will consent to abstain from discussions relating to their own rights, and will submit to the dictates of their governors as to the disposal of their property.

Similar principles came generally into practice. In the history of the princes of the German empire, new and increased taxes on land and on consumption, begin to be observable. The dangers which threatened the state, or the necessity for an expenditure suitable to the spirit of the age, were usually the pretences for these impositions; and when by custom they had become supportable, it was not difficult to find reasons for rendering them perpetual.

The princes of the empire framed their system of internal government, in other respects, on the model of the imperial administration of justice, which had subsisted ever since the time of Maximilian the First. Even in the reign

of Charles the Fifth, a dealer in cattle had the boldness to make war against the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. This disturbance, it is true, was remedied; but it was thought so highly dangerous, that Joachim the Second, elector of Brandenburg, could find no better means of resistance against the leader and his banditti, than to employ the public executioner of Berlin to entice him into that city: he fell into the snare; but maintained his right, in a public audience, which lasted three hours, in such a manner as to excite a considerable degree of sympathy; and though he was at last executed on the wheel, the elector could not afterwards reflect on the transaction without remorse.

It must be confessed, however, that most of the princes showed greater dexterity in augmenting their revenue than in regulating their expenses: even the prudent Saxon, Frederick, was content to suffer the progress of reformation, only on condition that it should not presume to approach his court. Sumptuous entertainments, gaming, numerous suites, and expensive festivals, gave rise everywhere to financial embarrassment.

SECTION VI.

FRANCE.

Lewis the Twelfth had diminished the expenses of his government to the half of their former amount; but Francis the First, at the beginning of his reign, departed from the frugal maxims of his predecessor. His views were usually just; but they were often warped by passion; and even policy afforded a seeming justification of his errors: he believed that a splendid court would augment his authority by its imposing effect, and would allure the nobles to quit their retirement; while habits of expensive dissipation would destroy their resources, and would by that means remove one of the greatest obstacles to the absolute power of the monarch. Lewis the Twelfth had resorted to temporary means, perhaps to the sale of offices, for the pur-

pose of defraying the expenses of his wars: whereas Francis increased the assessment of a standing impost called the *taille*, a tax which produced in his time nine millions. But when, in advanced age, he began to perceive the vanity of expensive pleasures, and the ill consequences of neglected economy and of bad example, he repaired the disorder of his finances by more strict attention to such subjects, paid his debts, and left at his decease 1,700,000 dollars in his treasury.

Henry, though by the favor of circumstances he was more fortunate in the early part of his reign, was neither equal to Francis in understanding nor in energy; and he suffered himself to be governed by the selfish and vicious persons who surrounded him.

SECTION VII.

THE POPE.

The treasury of the holy see was now exhausted, in consequence of the enterprises of the family of Borgia, whose politic plans had been frustrated by obstacles which could not be foreseen; and of the wars of Julius the Second, or Rovere, who entertained the grand design of driving the barbarians out of Italy. About this time the great cathedral of papal christendom was begun to be reared, according to the plan of Bramante, over the graves of the apostles; and Leo the Tenth, of Medici, who set no limits either to his expenditure or to his bounty, aggravated the distresses of the treasury by his profusion, which obliged him, as we have already seen, to have recourse to the assistance of the Fuggers of Augsburg, the most opulent family in Europe, who had laid the foundation of their prosperity in the unobtrusive and industrious pursuits of commerce, and the immense profit accruing to them from the quicksilver mines of Quadalcanal.

Among the succeeding pontiffs, namely, Hadrian the Sixth, who was a pious theologian; Clement the Seventh of Medici, who was endowed with excellent faculties in

several respects, yet not with such qualities as were necessary to the prosperity of the pontificate in times so difficult; the crafty Paul the Third, who, however, was more solicitous for the welfare of his family, the Farnesi, than for that of the holy see; Julius the Third, who was liberal in his manner of life, and munificent in his disposition; and Cariffa, or Paul the Fourth, remarkable for his haughty monastic severity;—among all these persons, who successively sat in the pontifical chair, there was no individual who possessed the talents that were requisite for retrieving the disordered finances of the see. In Germany also the Reformation was nearly as injurious to the interests of the pope in the catholic, as in the protestant states: the courts most remarkable for devotion, or at least for hypocrisy, kissed his feet, while they were busily engaged in fettering his hands.

It was fortunate that Francis had concluded a compact relating to the liberties of the Gallican church, a short time before the appearance of Luther. In consequence of this concordat, which had been attempted to be carried under Lewis the Eleventh, but which was at that time defeated by the efforts of the parliament and of the university, affairs relating to the benefices were removed from the control of the untractable parliament, to that of the minister of state, who was more inclined to pay regard to political circumstances; yet writers of later times confirmed the Gallican church in the maxim, "that the pope has no right to consider the bishops as merely his substitutes, and the synods as councils dependent on his will." The court took advantage of this disposition, and made so good use of the means within its power, that the Romans were obliged to abandon all hopes of deriving any revenue from the church of France, without its own permission, conjointly with that of the king. The court asserted and exercised the right of holding provincial synods; and these assemblies ratified this principle, "that when the pope swerves, in matters of doctrine, from the established forms; when he becomes heretical or schismatical, and when he stands in need of reformation, the councils are superior to him." Even the monks no longer ventured to maintain his infallibility, but

merely to assert that, among different propositions, *that* is to be preferred which is the most directly opposed to the heretics; and it became, in the end, the prevailing opinion, that infallibility is to be ascribed only to the church. This way of thinking mitigated the severity of the duty of implicit belief, and rendered the Romish more dependent on the royal court; while the latter, by means of the numerous presentations to spiritual dignities, which it appropriated to itself, acquired a powerful instrument for rendering the nobility dependent. Some splendid relics of the magnificent hierarchy of Rome were however suffered, through the collusion of the two courts, to remain in France; and it is easily conceivable that catholicism, thus modified, must have been far more agreeable to a regal government, than the republican spirit of the Reformation.

SECTION VIII.

PORTUGAL.

The popes, perhaps without being aware of what they were assisting to bring about, (since even the Roman government has more often availed itself of circumstances than called them forth) contributed to establish the political system of John the Third, by which the Portuguese nation was subjected to oppression. John might possibly feel all the devotion to the holy chair which he professed; but it is certain that the first effect of the inquisition, and of the favorable reception he gave to the jesuits, was to increase his revenue, and to render his authority more absolute.

This prince, from whose reign the decay of Portugal may be dated, endeavored to render himself master of the riches of the Jews, of which nation, though they had been banished by his grandfather, his kingdom contained a great number, who were however obliged to conceal the profession of their faith. The king manifested so violent a desire for the establishment of the inquisition in his dominions, in order, by its means, to discover this devoted race, and to punish them by confiscation and death, that Paul the

Third, who, as well as other pontiffs, sometimes had recourse to them for pecuniary assistance, long refused his concurrence. At length, however, John obtained the object of his desire; and first the royal confessor, and after him a son of the king, were appointed general inquisitors of the faith: immediately the nobles accounted it an honor to be appointed as servants of the holy tribunal, and to attend these miserable wretches to the stake. Similar tribunals were, in a short time, erected at Evora, at Coimbra, and at Goa, in the East-Indies; and the property of the criminals flowed rapidly into the royal treasury, as the court was directed, by positive instructions, rather to spare the lives than the seductive riches of the accused.

John the Third had the honor of being the very first king who received the jesuits. His minister at Rome recommended the rising order as missionaries for India; and whilst Francis Xavier was spreading religion and the fame of his order in that part of the world, Simon Rodriguez obtained such an ascendancy over the king, as to induce him to assume the title of especial guardian and administrator of the society: and to impose it on himself, as a duty, to sign all the proposals which they should send to him, without investigation or delay. At Coimbra the jesuits performed penitential processions, and their lives were examples of Spartan severity. This spectacle of voluntary poverty and rigid discipline, procured them great credit with the people: but the university raised its warning voice against the order, which evidently aspired to a superiority over all the prerogatives of kings, and all the rights of nations. The municipality of Oporto forbade parents, under pain of forfeiting the privileges of citizenship, to allow their children to be educated among them; and cardinal Henry, one of the king's sons, was hostile to their interest. On the other hand, the king, the queen and the court, remained zealously devoted to Rodriguez and his successor Gonsalez. The opposition was chiefly founded on the jealousy of the monks, who perceived the advantages which the jesuits would derive from the combination they affected of the characters of the regular and secular clergy, as well as from the novelty of their rules, their distinguished activity, the

favor of the nobles, and the instruction of the rising generation. The king committed to their care the education of his grandson; and they separated the young Teotonio from his father, the duke of Braganza, by force: for to the humility by which they acquired the confidence of the despotic king, they united, under favorable circumstances, a sufficient degree of boldness. Don John submitted himself to the authority of their general, and was rewarded by the honor of being buried in the garb of the order. A. D. 1555.

There existed, in fact, a tacit conspiracy of the supreme powers, temporal and spiritual, against the constitutional rights of the people, which effected the annihilation of the privileges of the different ranks; and in order to evade the necessity of obtaining their consent to the raising of new taxes, their rulers imposed them under ancient names. The affairs of the courts were managed by the intrigues of ecclesiastics, until, in the eighteenth century, when the submission of the people appeared unbounded, the kings wielded the whole force of absolute power, and caused it to be felt even by the jesuits and the church.

But in the times of which we are treating, the pope found it necessary to conduct himself with extreme caution towards the imperial court: in France he was obliged to give up many things, in order to avoid the loss of his whole influence, and especially the annates: in Spain and Portugal he countenanced the introduction of the absolute power of the monarch; but it was necessary to take measures for preserving this authority under the control of the jesuits: while in Italy the temporal principality of the states of the church was founded on arms and negociations.

SECTION IX.

ITALY.

Pope Julius the Second seized on Bologna, and put an end to the influence of the Bentivogli, who had held that ancient seat of learning under their authority: he retained,

through his perseverance, the sovereignty of Ravenna, the ancient residence of the Goths and exarchs; and made his own nephew, Francesco Maria Rovere, whose lofty mind and heroic courage was worthy of his uncle, duke of Urbino. Ludovico Gonzaga, the general of Clement the Seventh, put an end to the turbulent freedom of Ancona, and subjected it to the authority of the pope; the court of Naples still made an annual acknowledgment of his feudal superiority; he reckoned the Esti of Ferrara, together with the Roveri, among the number of his vassals; and Paul the Third succeeded in obtaining the same dignity for his own son, Piero Lodovico Farnese, which Clement the Seventh had formerly procured for his family, the Medici.

When Leo the Tenth assisted to drive the French out of Italy, he transferred Parma and Piacenza from the dominion of Milan to that of the church; and during the vacancy of the papal chair, which followed his death, Parma was preserved for the church by the historian Guicciardini, who displayed admirable presence of mind. A. D. 1545. Paul the Third gave these cities, with the consent of Charles the Fifth, to his son, who was already in possession of Castro and Ronciglioni: he received them as a fief of the church, with the title of duke. Piero Lodovico, who, though abandoned to voluptuousness of all kinds, was a prince of strong talents, was murdered during the life of his father (A. D. 1517): but the emperor, who had given his natural daughter to the young Octavio Farnese, and had taken him under his protection, enabled him to maintain his authority. Octavio reigned nearly forty years, confirmed the power of his family, and transmitted it to his son Alexander, who was one of the greatest generals of that age.

Charles the Fifth aggrandized the family of Este, which already held the sovereignty at Modena, Reggio, and Ferrara, by the gift of Carpi, a dominion which had been possessed by a branch of the house of Pico of Mirandolo, but which ought in justice to have devolved upon the other branch of that family. Almost all the states of Italy were at that period absorbed by or dependent on the Spanish monarchy: Venice alone maintained the appearance of

entire freedom, and endeavored to preserve a good understanding with the emperor. It was long a fundamental point in the policy of this state, to prevent any prince from becoming too powerful in Lombardy, by the acquisition of Milan: but when an irresistible course of events transferred the latter state to Spain, the senate consoled itself with the reflection, that it was desirable to have a neighbor so powerful as to be under no temptation to aggrandize himself at the expense of the republic; and who besides could not adopt measures of that nature, without exciting the alarm of the other powers of Europe.

Genoa had placed herself under the protection of France; and the greater part of her nobles were soldiers in the service of Francis the First: but this state of dependance was not even compensated by internal repose; as the factions of the Adorni and Fregosi continued to disturb with their broils, the tranquillity of the state. At length Andrew Doria, who had been injured by the court of France, resolved to become the Timoleon of Genoa, and to confer upon his country the benefits of freedom and laws.

In order to accomplish his purpose, he entered into connection with Charles the Fifth, appeared unexpectedly before the city, and was admitted. A. D. 1528. He began like Thrasybulus, by publishing amnesty; and proceeded to unite the different parties by intermarriages and other civil connections. Far from attempting, under pretence of the public good, to arrogate to himself an odious pre-eminence, he made all the citizens of any degree of respectability, with the exception only of the Adorni and Fregosi, eligible to the government: and after having enacted that a doge should be chosen every two years, and that the state should be governed under his presidency by eight governatori, and by a council of four hundred, Doria retired to the simple station of a senator. This great man, in his 87th year, commanded the fleet which secured to the Genoese the possession of the island of Corsica (A. D. 1560); and died in his 94th year, without ever having obtained the dignity of doge.

Corsica had been taken in former times from the Arabians, by Hugo Colonna, who delivered the island to the

pope, and who afterwards held it as a fief from the latter. The citizens of Pisa deprived his family of this possession: from them it was taken by the Genoese. There subsisted from that time an hereditary enmity between the wealthy Genoese and the unpolished Corsicans. At length Sampiero of Basbelica, who had espoused the only daughter of the wealthy general Ornano, pointed out to the French how advantageous and easy it would be to drive the Genoese, who were allies of the Spaniards, from this post so important to Italy. The French admiral, Paul de Termes, was supported in this undertaking by the fleet of the pasha Sulejman; but their united efforts were unavailing against the valor and good fortune of Doria. After the death of the latter, Sampiero endeavored in vain to excite his countrymen to a systematic effort for the recovery of their independence; and was at length himself put to death, either by the brother of his wife, whom he had murdered, or by an assassin in the pay of the Genoese.

SECTION X.

FLORENCE.

The revolutions of the Florentines ended in the destruction of the republican form of their constitution.

Piero de Medici, the son of the celebrated Lorenzo, was a man of amiable disposition, a perfectly accomplished knight, and a ruler of considerable talents; but (like all the members of his family) too much addicted to pleasure, and not possessed of sufficient self-control for the circumstances in which he was placed. On the invasion of Charles the Eighth (A. D. 1494), seeing no possible means of resisting the power of France, he delivered up Pisa and Leghorn to the troops of that nation, without a formal consultation of the authorities of the state. This step drew on him the hatred of the Florentines to such a degree, that he was obliged, from regard to his own safety, to leave the city: his palaces were plundered, his family was condemned to banishment, and a price set upon their heads.

Piero had abandoned himself, and was of course deserted by his friends.

During the four following years, the people were chiefly guided by the preaching of a dominican friar named Savonarola, an orator, who to the ardent zeal of a prophet, added the spirit of a republican. He was at last burnt alive as a heretic; and after his death Florence approached with rapid strides to the condition of a lawless democracy: the deliberations of the council lost their authority; everything was determined by party spirit; the most respectable of the citizens withdrew from public business; and the virtuous gonfaloniere, Soderini, was scarcely able to preserve the appearance of order. Even under this irregular constitution the Florentines subdued Pisa (A. D. 1509), and bade defiance to the pope; but Julius, to punish them, employed his influence at the court of Spain, and having by its means procured the assistance of Naples (A. D. 1512), replaced Julian and John de Medici, brothers of Piero, who was already dead, in the authority which their house had possessed at Florence, eighteen years before.

After the decease of Julius the Second, John, the younger of these brothers, was chosen as his successor (A. D. 1513), under the name of Leo the Tenth. His influence, and the necessity of preventing the recurrence of similar disorders, confirmed the authority of his amiable brother Julian; and, after the premature death of the latter (A. D. 1516), that of his nephew Lorenzo, the son of Piero. These princes rendered their era illustrious, by the unexampled liberality of the patronage which they bestowed on the arts and sciences; while they secured the attachment of the multitude by their liberality. A specious pretext having presented itself for expelling the family of Rovere from Urbino, Leo subjected himself and the church to the expense of eight hundred thousand ducats, for the purpose of putting Lorenzo in possession of that dukedom.

It was for this second Lorenzo, that the Florentine secretary of state, Nicholas Macchiavelli designed his political work entitled "the Prince." This author, in his excellent essay on the history of Livy, had already displayed the principles on which the foundation and support of republi-

can governments depend. In his later work he drew a portrait of the arts of tyrants, which it is necessary to know in order to be able to defeat them. In this book he flattered the views of Lorenzo; who, in an age in which it was evident to every statesman that the weakness of Italy was owing to its division into so many small states, had conceived the apparently feasible project of obtaining possession of Lucca and Siena, fortifying Florence, and thus founding a new Italian kingdom which should extend from sea to sea. This plan, which was strengthened by Lorenzo's relationship to Leo the Tenth, the friendship of Francis the First, and the mutual jealousy of those powers who, if united, might have defeated it, was frustrated by the death of Lorenzo, which happened in the 27th year of his age. A. D. 1519. He was the last prince of the male line of Cosmo, the father of his country; and left only a daughter, the celebrated Catharine de Medici, afterwards queen of France.

Shortly after the death of Lorenzo and of Leo the Tenth, Zanobi Buondelmonti and Luigi Alamani, two of Machiavel's most intimate friends, conspired to rescue their country from the domination of Cardinal Julius, a natural son of that brother of Lorenzo who had been murdered by the Pazzi. They were supported in this undertaking by Cardinal Soderini, at the court of pope Hadrian the Sixth; who, himself a native of the Netherlands, was unacquainted with the violent passions and factious views of the parties of Italy. Julius adhered to the emperor's party, and entered into the great league against the dominion of the French in Italy: and on the death of Hadrian, he was supported by the imperial interests, and elected pope with the title of Clement the Seventh. A. D. 1523. Julius managed his affairs so artfully, that his elevation to the papal chair was chiefly owing to the prince who had resolved on his ruin; and, notwithstanding his libertine manners, he gained the confidence of the severe Hadrian. When he became pope, he would gladly have preserved the neutrality which became the common father of the contending parties; but the vehement rivalry of Francis the First and Charles the Fifth, involved him in their quarrels: he was obliged to

expose himself to the vicissitudes of their fortunes, and fell, on the decline of the French power in Italy, into the utmost difficulties: for at this period, George of Frundsperg, an imperial general, plundered Rome with as little mercy as the Goths had formerly exercised, and besieged the pope himself in the castle of St. Angelo. A. D. 1527. Alexander, the natural son of Julius, or of the second Lorenzo, who was director of public affairs at Florence, now sought his safety in flight; and upon this occasion the ancient freedom of the constitution was restored under the gonfaloniere Capponi.

But the house of Medici arose from this temporary decay to permanent greatness. A. D. 1529. Clement concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the emperor, who gave his illegitimate daughter, Margaret, to Alexander, and engaged to put his son-in-law in possession of the ancient wealth and authority of his family. The Florentines resisted this arrangement; and the city was besieged during ten months by the emperor's army; at first, under the command of the last prince of Chalons-Orange, and after his death, under that of Ferdinand Gonzaga. After having exhausted all their means of defence, the citizens laid down their arms (A. D. 1530); begging at the same time that a regular form of government might be established within three months. The emperor, upon this nominated Alexander de' Medici as hereditary duke of Florence: six of the enemies of his family were beheaded, and the rest either detained in prison or banished.

Alexander, after the example of the ancient tyrants, built a citadel for the security of his person and authority: he took upon himself the supreme direction of affairs of all kinds, and abolished the office of gonfaloniere of justice. Twelve citizens were appointed reformers; and from these he received the palace and the whole authority of the ancient government: forty-eight citizens were appointed as counsellors of state, four of whom were to fulfil the duties of the office, and to be replaced by an equal number every three months. The ordinary business of the interior was committed to the council of two hundred, but under the direction of the reigning sovereign.

The duke conducted his government on prudent and moderate maxims, until Lorentino, another member of the house of Medici, probably envious that a spurious branch of the family had possessed himself of the power, undertook, with great artfulness, to effect his ruin. He resolved to deprive him of the love and veneration of the people before he attempted his life; and his first step for this purpose was to acquire the confidence of the duke. They studied Tacitus together: and when Alexander's mild disposition startled at the malicious tyranny of Tiberius, his friend demonstrated to him how necessary it would be to adopt such measures in a country which had but lately lost its freedom; and developed so profound a system of policy, that the duke soon began to rely implicitly on his judgment. Lorentino flattered his voluptuous dispositions; and while he abused all the powers with which he was entrusted, affected to lament that the severity of the sovereign compelled him to such conduct, and took opportunities to point out to the Florentines the dangers to which the chastity of their wives and daughters was exposed. He obtained so completely the confidence of the duke, that he caused secret stairs to be made, by means of which he could at all hours, and unperceived, gain access to his chamber. When he supposed that the minds of men were worked up by his arts to a proper pitch of irritation, he assassinated the duke, and called on the people to assert their freedom. A. D. 1537.

The young Cosmo de' Medici, a descendant of a brother of that Cosmo who was called the father of his country, prevented, by his presence of mind, the success of this enterprize. He took his measures with so much celerity, that the more prudent among the citizens, independent of the obstacles which the state of Europe at that time presented, thought proper to abandon the idea of re-establishing the republic. Lorentino took flight; but a faithful servant of the murdered duke pursued him during nine years, through different countries, and ultimately put him to death.

Cosmo, the first grand duke of Tuscany, really deserved this title, which he received from pope Pius the Fifth,

(A. D. 1569), and which was confirmed to his son by the emperor Maximilian the Second. A. D. 1555. In the course of his reign, which was as wise, as fortunate, and almost as long as that of Augustus, the Florentines forgot the former republican constitution of their government. He conciliated the good will both of the French and Spaniards; abstained from all domestic confiscations; and, though he made no enactment by which the ecclesiastics were prevented from acquiring landed property, he forbade the notaries to make legal attestations of such contracts.

From the survey which we have just taken, it appears, that at the time when Charles the Fifth abandoned the government, Milan and Naples were in the power of his son, and Genoa and the grand duke in his interest; Margaret, the widow of Alexander, had married the duke of Parma; the Gonzaga had neither the power nor the imprudence to undertake any thing hostile to the tranquillity of Lombardy; the senate of Venice was desirous only of peace; and the pope was the natural ally of the catholic king. The knights of St. John, to whom Charles the Fifth had given the islands of Malta and Gozo, under conditions which kept them in a kind of dependence on the king of Sicily, contributed to keep the seas and coasts free from pirates. Italy was flourishing from its natural fertility and the effects of its ancient cultivation, and in the expectation of a durable peace: in the sunshine of prosperity, it lost the ancient spirit of enterprize which had raised so many of its states to the proud eminence of freedom and greatness, yet its people had now leisure to resign themselves in security to the enjoyment of pleasure and repose.

SECTION XI.

SAVOY AND GENEVA.

The house of Savoy, whose prosperity had been greatly disturbed by the unfortunate part it had taken against

the confederates in the war of Burgundy, as well as by factions and the frequent vicissitudes of policy incident to short reigns and minorities, appeared now to be totally ruined by the still more calamitous occurrences which attended the reign of Charles the Third. A. D. 1536. That duke having joined the party of the emperor against Francis the First, the king seized a favorable opportunity of entering into an intimate connexion with Bern, conquered Savoy, and leaving the Swiss in possession of all the shores of the lake of Geneva, and of the whole district of the Pays de Vaud, hastened to incorporate the duchy with the dominions of France, and erect a parliament in Chambery.

The inhabitants of the Canton of Bern had long taken a lively interest in the struggle in which Geneva was incessantly engaged with the house of Savoy. Savoyard noblemen had been, during a long series of years, the bishops and magistrates of that city: and the dukes were constantly bent on the project of making themselves masters of the place; which was of extreme importance to them, not only on account of its situation, but of the spirit of freedom which animated its inhabitants, and which, unless they could contrive some means of extinguishing it, would probably at length infect their own towns in the Pays de Vaud. They had similar views with regard to Lausanne, which, as well as Geneva, was the theatre of that incessant agitation inevitable in those states where the rights of a powerful body of citizens, and the authority of an ecclesiastical prince, are not sufficiently distinguished from each other. The dukes had, in reality, no justifiable pretext for interfering in the affairs of these cities; but they had often found means, under the administration of weak and dependent bishops, to cause the public business to be committed to their own management; and in favorable conjunctures, afforded by the dissensions between the bishops and the people, had assumed to themselves the menacing office of mediators.

The Genevese, whose forefathers had chiefly been induced by the attractions of freedom to choose this city for their place of residence, kept a watchful eye on every ille-

gal innovation which the bishops might be inclined to attempt in favor of the projects of their ambitious neighbors, and strengthened their own party by alliances. The first of these was concluded with Freiburg, which had formerly been rescued from the power of Savoy by the assistance of Bern. The intimate connexion between these two cities, together with the influence of the new opinions in matters of faith, soon produced alliances between Bern and Geneva: and it was owing to this connexion that the latter city, in which the love of liberty was superior to every other consideration, escaped subjection to ecclesiastical and temporal tyranny. Freiburg refused to have any farther connexion with innovators on the ancient faith.

The citizens of Bern, however, while they appeared only as protectors of Geneva, made so judicious an use of the advantages of their situation, that the Pays de Vaud fell under their dominion: for the duke of Savoy was reduced to the necessity of putting them in possession, as a pledge for the maintenance of peace, of that district; by which they obtained an acquisition equal to a third part of their former territory. It was not difficult, under these circumstances, to find a specious pretext, in the hatred of the nobles against the citizens, or in other causes, for converting this acquisition into a permanent conquest; and the rupture which took place between the duke and France facilitated the execution of the plan. Bern received no assistance in this affair from the other cantons of Switzerland: on the contrary, most of those states saw, with dissatisfaction, that the Pays de Vaud was torn from a catholic prince, and that Bern, the object of their jealousy, became still more powerful by the acquisition. Bern, in order to render its preservation the more easy, invited Freiburg and Valais to participate in the prize; and when Chablais, as well as the Pays de Vaud, had been subdued, the citizens of Bern showed an inclination to protect Geneva nearly in the same manner as Lausanne, and laid claim to the property of the expelled chapter of the cathedral, and to some other ecclesiastical possessions; in which attempt, however, they were disappointed. The bishop, Peter von Baume, had declared himself decidedly on the

side of the duke; and as the state of affairs in the city afforded no other prospect than that of the destruction of his religious dignity, as well as of his temporal power, his conduct in this respect was exactly that which might have been expected: he quitted the city, and his power was now formally declared to be abolished. The same procedure took place at Lausanne; with this difference, that as at Geneva the community took possession of the confiscated property of the church, so the senate of Bern here assumed to themselves the rights of the prince and bishop, Sebastian de Montfaucon, who had thought proper to abscond, and from whom all prospect of reconciliation with his people was cut off by the reformation of the church which the senate introduced.

Things remained in this situation until Henry the Second and Philip the Second concluded the peace of Chateau Cambresis, after the defeat of the French at the battle of St. Quentin (A. D. 1559); when, in pursuance of that treaty, Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, surnamed Iron-head, from his powers of endurance, was reinstated in his hereditary dukedom. This arrangement compelled the senate of Bern and their confederates, to abandon the farther side of the lake of Geneva Chablais, and the small territory of Gex situated at the principal pass of Mount Jura. A. D. 1564. They retained the Pays de Vaud, and it was evident that this circumstance was not easily to be forgotten: for the nobles of that country formed several conspiracies to restore it to the authority of the duke; and the other Swiss cantons, in all the treaties which they concluded with the house of Savoy, during upwards of a century, engaged to give the people of Bern no assistance towards defending that territory.

Geneva was surrounded by the dominions of an active and prudent prince, supported by the power of Spain, and by an exasperated nobility: it was sometimes at enmity with France, and detested by her as the mother and asylum of the Huguenots; and, when in alliance with France, could expect no assistance from the distracted condition of that kingdom: it was often shaken to its foundations by internal dissensions: but it subsisted not-

withstanding all these dangers, supported by the virtues with which the love of freedom inspired its magnanimous citizens, and by the activity and vigilance of the illustrious directors of its affairs. Its distinguished moral power so raised the reputation of this state, that it was often a party to the negociations of the great powers of Europe; and it was almost the principal seat of a religious sect, which, however, did not take its origin in this city.

The constitution of Geneva was free, but not accurately defined: and from this cause the government was frequently obliged to adopt sudden and secret resolutions on matters of the highest import; while at other times the people were assembled to deliberate on the most minute regulations of police. Less regard was paid to the number or the names of those to whom the affairs of the state were committed, than to their political virtue and wisdom; and the citizens were in the habit of comparing the condition of Geneva with that of other countries, which enjoyed a lower degree of freedom, instead of making invidious comparisons among themselves. Hence private ambition was lost in the sentiment of the glory of their country; and the authority of the magistrates, though it was deficient in the sanction which time imparts to ancient institutions, was founded on distinguished abilities and popularity, which are in all countries its proper and legitimate support. The citizens of Geneva borrowed some of the forms of their constitution from the Swiss cantons; but they imbibed a spirit which was peculiar to themselves, and which gave to this little republic a venerable and eternally memorable place in the history of human nature.

SECTION XII.

SWITZERLAND.

The spirit of rivalry that subsisted in Switzerland, between the inhabitants of the towns and those of the country, was forgotten in the more vehement contests excited by the reformation; but there still existed internal causes

of dispute between the several municipalities and the country people under their immediate jurisdiction. This class of rulers was that which was first exposed to the influence of foreign gold and military habits: these formed, according to the ideas prevalent at that time, a striking contrast with the dignity and integrity of the administrators of a republic; and this collision was productive of so much indignation, that the people, who were, however, generally the unsuspecting instruments of secret counter-parties, made many insurrections, with the intention of depriving them of their honors and lives.

The prudence and ascendency of the government of the canton of Bern preserved the country, at the conclusion of the wars of Milan, from universal anarchy; and the only violent tumult which took place among the country people of that canton was quelled by the Schultheiss, Jacob von Wattewyl, who manifested the dignity and firmness of an ancient Roman.

The patriotic spirit displayed by Zuinglius, whose system tended to habituate the nation to the domestic virtues, to justice and quietness, and to induce them to live on peaceable terms among the surrounding monarchies, but by no means in the relation of intimate friendship with them, alarmed the democratic leaders of the people for the revenue which they annually derived from Paris and Rome, and which had assisted in no small degree to support the catholic religion in these democracies, distinguished, amid the darkness of the middle ages, by their opposition to the encroachments of ecclesiastical power. The veneration which is usually found among a nation of shepherds for sensible representations and ancient rites, in the worship of the Deity, also contributed materially to the same end; while, on the other hand, a mode of belief which approached much nearer to perfection, was acceptable to the more advanced state of civilization in the towns. The latter system was embraced by private persons of ordinary station; and from its severity was agreeable to the popular idea, that the Deity is most acceptably served by the subjection of that part of our nature which appears to be the most dissimilar to perfect purity.

The towns which adopted the reformed religion, with the consent and advice of their communities and peasants rejected the proposal of a league with France; forbade all their countrymen to enter into foreign military service; and enacted that the punishment of death should be inflicted on all those who were convicted of receiving pensions: and it must be allowed that the population and prosperity of the country were for a considerable space of time promoted by these regulations.

The council at Bern determined to adopt the reformation, at the period when the majority of the citizens and country people appeared to approve it. At Basel, Schaffhausen, St. Galle, in the country of Glaris, and in part of Appenzel, the voice of the people was declared in its favor by such tremendous movements, as manifested that opposition on the part of the authorities would be utterly in vain; and even the magistrates themselves were rather unwilling to admit the new creed from the mere dread of innovation, than inclined to retain the ancient system on the ground of its own merits. On the contrary, whatever came from Zurich could not be well received in the pastoral districts; and it is possible that the reformers might have attacked the opinions of the honest fathers of these people, with too little moderation: in Bern also, it was with extreme difficulty that the new faith could be established in the mountains. But the common subjects of the union were in the most perplexed and confused condition: twice within three years, civil war broke out between the ruling cantons: and the catholic party, though the less numerous, consisting of men who were not to be enervated by sedentary trades nor by the adoption of any modern indulgences, and who had in no degree departed from the simple life of their forefathers, commonly came off with the victory; while the officers of the towns endeavored to conduct the war in the scientific manner followed by the soldiers of kings, and acted the part of half-instructed men, opposed to the hardy sons of nature. The catholics were, however, under the necessity of consenting to reasonable terms of peace, because the towns were more powerful, and therefore in a condition to sustain the burden of war for

a longer time; and Zurich was, after all, their best market.

An equipoise was thus established, and the confederates were imperceptibly led to tolerate both parties in the common dominions of the union: but they were not brought to this result by attending to the suggestions of reason; for even in *our* times, the most intolerant principles prevailed in the exclusive dominions of individual cantons: and it appears that a republican government is not necessarily a free constitution, since it is possible that under it, men may be forbidden to worship the Deity in the manner which they think best. The catholics of Switzerland, however, never permitted the introduction of the inquisition; and among the reformers, the exorbitant influence of the preachers was diminished in proportion to the extension of knowledge among other classes: so that at length every one was at liberty to think as he pleased, though he was permitted to teach only the established doctrine; and in that age, and among states so feeble, these limitations may be excused.

In the times immediately succeeding the reformation, the governments of the towns became more popular and peaceable in proportion, as the military spirit was taught to submit itself to the laws. Among the reformed cantons, the greater part of the ancient vigor and hilarity of character was lost: the people became more domestic and industrious, but their enjoyment of life was diminished.

SECTION XIII.

GREAT BRITAIN.

It would be difficult to name a country in which, during these convulsions of the Christian world, the arbitrary will of the monarch exerted a more capricious influence over the determination of the most important questions of conscience, than in England. The maxims of Henry the Seventh, and the lawless impetuosity of his successor, had enfeebled the parliament, and reduced it to a servile de-

pendence on the will of the king; while the nobility had been destroyed and the commons ruined, in the wars between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. The hierarchy, consisting of 60,000 individuals, the 13,000 churches, and 645 monasteries, under their Italian chief, who was possessed of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, still constituted a body capable of maintaining its own will in opposition to that of the monarch; because the privileges enjoyed by their members and their property, effectually protected them against the encroachments of tyranny; and because they were supported by that most universal and indestructible power, which coerces even him who wields the sword and possesses the revenue,—the force of public opinion: but this support was undermined by the reformation.

Under Henry the Seventh, the acquirement of learning had begun to be extended; the ancients became known, and communicated to their readers the sound understanding and the lofty and daring spirit which breathes through their works. The light of reason thus imparted, was fatal to the age of chivalry,—when the nobility "performed pilgrimages in countries which could never be found in the map; and amused themselves by defying persons unknown to them, to single combat for ladies whom they had never seen." The forests of Wales alone remained impervious to the spirit of the age; and were still governed by barons, who, surrounded by marksmen, and on their guard day and night against enemies, bestowed estates on such of their soldiers as distinguished themselves by their valor; in order, to use the expression of Wynne, "to determine, by the prowess of these men, whether they or their neighbors should be the first to salute." But even here, English and Latin were taught at Conway; and at Caernarvon, the commencement of civilization was discernible in the manners of the people. In England, the study of the ancients soon began to produce a perceptible effect on the acquisition of science, and even on the manner of conducting business.

This change was effected by men of the common class; for the restorers of learning were more frequently oppressed

than rewarded. One man was observed prosecuting his studies by the side of a river, and catching the pieces of wood that occasionally floated down its current, in order to provide himself with fuel for the winter; another employed his nights in making shoes, that he might be at liberty to study during the day. The love of independence, which usually accompanies genius, induced Erasmus to gain his livelihood by correcting books, at the time when Charles the Fifth and Henry the Eighth were eagerly inviting him to come to their courts. Grocyn, the first professor of Greek at Oxford, received no salary; for a man who understood that language, was suspected of an inclination to heresy. Twenty grammar schools were however opened in a short time; and Thomas More read lectures before an assembly of the most respectable citizens of London, on Augustine's excellent work of the city of God. More himself, in his boldness before a haughty and all-powerful minister, in his immovable attachment to convictions which were disagreeable to the king, and in the equanimity with which he conducted himself on the scaffold, displayed a spirit worthy of the ancients. The liberality of his mind still survives in his Utopia; although that work proves that he was more capable of transporting himself into former ages, than of transferring the spirit of the ancient philosophy to his own times. These restorers of literature prepared the way for the reformation: they were not themselves its authors; for the external forms of the catholic religion wore more resemblance to the customs of the Greeks and Romans: but they put the human mind in motion, and the consequence was, that every thing was subjected to examination; which was to be conducted in the sixteenth century, according to the history of the church; in the seventeenth, according to the new philosophy; and since the time of Bayle, according to the dictates of sober reason.

Henry the Eighth was displeased with the pope, who refused to give his sanction to the divorce between the king and his wife, the sister of Charles the Fifth: in the fury of his passion, he availed himself of the ideas rendered current by the reformation; declared himself visible head of

the church of his kingdom (A. D. 1534); and by this measure, destroyed in a moment, the authority of the canonical rights of Rome. But when Henry ventured arbitrarily to impose the limits to the right of investigation, which the reformation necessarily pre-supposed, he involved all parties in equal condemnation; and several times altered his creed, as his passions prompted.

A. D. 1547. Under his son Edward, the principles of the reformer of Geneva were introduced with barbarous fury: the monastic libraries were destroyed; the universities were abandoned; whole ship-loads of manuscripts were sold to Flemish dealers, and others were consumed in cleaning plate and other domestic uses. The revolution under this prince, was the effect of passion long restrained and rendered furious by opposition.

A. D. 1553. After the premature decease of this prince, his sister and successor Mary, prohibited all the innovations which had been introduced during the nineteen years preceding: she sent a legation in testimony of her obedience, to the pope; maintained the authority of Rome with fire and sword, and married the catholic king Philip the Second. This connection appeared finally to turn on the side of Spain the balance of power, which England had during forty years maintained between Charles and Francis. Henry the Second, although he had the good fortune to recover Calais from the English, the last prize of the victories of their Edwards, was compelled to enter into a treaty of peace with Philip.

During this century, the French endeavored to form connections with Scotland, in order to give the kings of England employment in their own island: but the former kingdom was never an equal match in power for the latter; and it was besides so disturbed by internal dissensions, that most of the kings of the house of Stuart had fallen by an untimely death. Under such a state of affairs, it was scarcely to be expected that Mary, either during her long minority, or her reign, devoted to levity and licentious intrigues, could give energy to the sceptre of her fathers.

Henry the Eighth, when he declared all the British states an individual empire, had raised Ireland at the same

time to the rank of a kingdom. That country, even in those times, frequently refused to submit to the regulations of the English parliament, which were foreign to its manners and often hostile to its interests: and at length, under the vice-royalty of Sir Edwards Poynings, the government of England was obliged to declare Ireland exempt from all taxes except those imposed by the Irish parliament; and to acknowledge the legislative authority of that body, with respect to all acts passed by them, with the consent of the king in council.

SECTION XIV.

SCANDINAVIA.

The long-continued struggle between Denmark and Sweden was decided against the house of Oldenburg, in consequence of a stroke of policy by means of which Christian the Second hoped to reduce the latter kingdom forever to a state of subjection. A. D. 1520. He had caused all those nobles who were obnoxious to him as defenders of the rights of Sweden, to be executed, contrary to all the principles of faith and justice; and at the same time oppressed both kingdoms with unlawful imposts.

A. D. 1521. Under these circumstances, Gustavus Vasa, a leader who possessed the power of imparting to the people his heroic spirit, and whose views were so just as to lead him to undertake no more than what was capable of being carried into execution, raised his arm for the deliverance of Sweden. He first communicated his own enthusiasm to the intrepid and hardy miners of Dalecarlia; and setting out at their head from the valleys of Hedemora, appeared before the walls of the capital.

A. D. 1523. The tyrannical monarch, a brother-in-law of Charles the Fifth, was deposed by his subjects of both countries, and lived six and thirty years in poverty and imprisonment: and while Denmark was rendered happy by the wisdom and mild government of his uncle, Fred-

erick the First, and his son and successor Christian the Third, Sweden recovered its independence, and continued for nearly forty years to venerate the beneficent virtues and mature wisdom of Gustavus.

The whole of Scandinavia adopted the creed of Luther.

SECTION XV.

POLAND, PRUSSIA, AND COURLAND.

Poland, under both the Sigismunds, was well governed, and enjoyed an age of prosperity.

Albert of Brandenburg, the grand-master of the Teutonic knights in Prussia, sacrificed the duties of his order to the advantage of his family, A. D. 1525: he declared himself of the Lutheran persuasion, married the daughter of Frederick king of Denmark, and accepted the hereditary dukedom of Prussia as a fief from Poland. He relinquished for a sum of money the feudal lordship of Livonia, which had belonged to the former grand-masters ever since the coalition of the orders of knights of the cross and sword-bearers.

By this arrangement, Walter von Plettenberg became independent military lord in the countries of Livonia and Esthonia, which last had been transferred a hundred and eighty years before by a Danish king, to Burkard of the three lions. Walter was raised to the rank of a prince of the German empire: but in the time of Gotthard Kettler, the Russian czar Ivan Vasilievitsch, under the pretence of hereditary right, but in reality with the view of approaching nearer to the more cultivated parts of Europe by means of the harbors of the Baltic, invaded Livonia with the fury of a barbarian chieftain. A. D. 1560. In the universal terror, the people of Esthonia placed themselves under the protection of Sweden; and the military lord transferred his rights to the king of Poland. The latter followed the example of Albert of Prussia: he embraced the Lutheran creed, married a princess of the house of Mecklenburgh, and accepted Courland and Semgallia,

with the rank of hereditary duke, as a fief from Poland. A. D. 1561. His family retained this acquisition a hundred and fifty years.

SECTION XVI.

RUSSIA.

Ivan, the czar whom we have had occasion to mention in the last section, had the same sentiment respecting the necessity of a reformation in his dominions, the same energy and enthusiasm, as Peter the Great; but, owing to the rude state of the age in which he lived, he remained nevertheless a barbarian. He was the terror of his subjects, because he believed it indispensably necessary to exact from them implicit obedience. He conquered the great Tartaric countries of Casan and Astracan, and united them permanently to his dominions.

The Nomadic tribes of Baschkiria soon betook themselves to his powerful protection. He received the produce of their hunting excursions, and provided them in return with salt; for he traded in commodities of almost every kind. In order to facilitate the protection of these tribes, as well as to ensure their subjection, he restored the ancient Nogay residence of Ufa, which secured him the possession of a district extremely fertile, consisting of forests and meadows, and watered by rivers abounding in fish.

Ivan endeavored, by all the means he could imagine, to gain the attachment of the hordes: he enticed the Votjaks with cheap brandy; he allowed Christianity to be taught, but not to be forced on the natives; and while civilized Europe was engaged in wars on account of religion, toleration reigned in the dominions of the czar.

During his reign the Danes and Prussians began to divide the Lapponian territory on the shores of the Northern sea. None but seamen from Bergen and Drontheim had visited these inhospitable coasts, and their proceedings were unknown to the rest of Europe, until chance conducted

thither some ships from Antwerp; and now the zeal of the monks was aroused to convey to the Laplanders the consolations of religion. Kuriles and Russians came afterwards into the country; the districts became more and more populous, and commerce extended itself, chiefly owing to the impulse communicated to it by Simon von Salingen. Even in this icy desert, contests arose relating to the boundaries; and on the *three kings' day*, at Kola, the Norwegians of Wardoehuus still protest against the occupation of the country by the Russians.

Gustavus Vasa avoided the haughty czar, who refused to give audience to his ambassadors and referred them to the governor of Novogorod. The same chief had replied to a request made by the king of Denmark for his mediation, "that he could not comprehend how any man could propose that a czar, descended from the emperor Augustus, should enter into relations of any sort with a Swede, who was only an elective king." In his transactions with Denmark he acted also in the most arbitrary manner. To the commerce with the English he showed the greatest favor: Richard Chancellor and Sir Hugh Willoughby, having in his reign undertaken a voyage of discovery to the north coast, discovered the harbor of Archangel.

Jermak Timofeov having found a pass through the Verchoturian mountains toward Siberia, soon subdued Kutschum Chan, and presented Ivan with a kingdom as extensive as that which he received from his ancestors. From this time the dominion of the Russians extended itself continually towards the east, until, under Peter the Great, the extremity of the continent of Asia was explored. Departing, still later, from that boundary, they discovered the Aleutian, Fox, and Kurilian islands, the extensive promontory of Alaska, the great island Kadjak, and the western shores of America. The boundaries of this immense empire, on the sides of China and Sweden, were defined by treaties.

Tribes of Finns inhabited the districts in the neighborhood of the capital, Tobolsk; Nogay Tartars dwelt in the desert regions of the copper mines, and beyond them the warlike, independent, and enterprising Kirgises. Around

the lake of Aral the Karakalpaks contributed by their agriculture to the power of the Kirgisian shepherds; Mongoles and Tunguses, the brethren of the Mandshurs who reign in China; and Samoiedes, the descendants of the aborigines, who by the effect of their situation and ancient barbarism, are sunk into the deepest corruption of manners.

Such was the vast extent of power which Russia attained under Ivan Vasilievitsch, although science had disappeared in consequence of domestic wars, and through the subjection of the country to the Tartars. So great was the ignorance that prevailed, that when Christian the Third of Denmark presented the czar with a clock, that prince refused to receive it, and returned answer, "that such a piece of enchantment was not fit for a Christian king who believed in one God, and who was resolved to have nothing to do with the planets."

Moscow, the capital, was fourteen miles in circumference, and was surrounded by three walls, with battlements of different colors. The fortress called the Kremlin, which was the residence of the czar, the patriarch, and the chief dignitaries of the clergy, was fortified by strong towers and by walls of enormous thickness. Five and thirty churches, covered with gilt or silvered metallic plates, presented a glittering spectacle to all the country within view of the city; and in the tower of Ivan Veliki was a bell of prodigious dimensions, which was rung for the amusement of the mighty potentate. At the end of the great place was the temple of Jerusalem. The Russians trembled before the boundless authority of their monarch; and the west of Europe indistinctly perceived his fearful power.

SECTION XVII.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE NORTH OF AFRICA.

The high and mighty Solyman, the conqueror of half Hungary, whom thirteen battles had rendered the terror of Germany, who was the confederate of Francis the First,

and who now filled the throne of the Ottoman padishas, endeavored, like the czar, to raise his people from their state of barbarism by a better regulated plan of government; and with that view, modelled the court in a more splendid manner, and organized the divan. But he sacrificed Mustapha, Bajessid, and four others of his sons, together with fifty thousand of their adherents, to his suspicions: this act gave occasion to the custom of keeping the successor to the throne shut up among women and eunuchs; and from this epoch the degeneracy of the family may be dated.

During his reign, and under his protection, arose the African republics, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Aruk Barbarossa, the son of a potter of Lesbos, whose lofty mind was capable of the boldest plans, with the assistance of a number of young men who were devoted to him, delivered Algiers from the Spaniards. His companions in arms elevated him to the supreme command; and he, like a true tyrant, caused all those persons to be put to death who might have endangered the security of his new power: this gave rise to a conspiracy, by which the Spaniards were invited to return; but their vessels foundered within view of the city. Aruk, with only a thousand men, afterwards overthrew the ruling dynasty of Abu Hafs at Tunis; and he was engaged in the taking of Telemsan when he heard of the preparations of the king of Spain: he marched to meet his enemy like a hero, and fell on the field of battle. A. D. 1517.

The soldiers chose his brother Shereddin to succeed him; who concluded a defensive alliance with the sultan, received from Constantinople some troops of janissaries and ships, and fortified Algiers. François de la Garde shortly after made him an offer of the friendship of Francis the First, which he accepted; and in conjunction with the admiral Enghien, he assisted the most Christian king to plunder the coasts of his Catholic majesty, especially those of Naples.

About the same period died Mohammed, who had reestablished the authority of the dynasty of Abu Hafs at Tunis. Hassan, who was his favorite among four and

thirty sons, and whom he had declared his successor, in order to secure his father from the irresolution incident to old age, had poisoned him immediately after the execution of the testament, and afterwards murdered his brothers. One of them, however, named Raschid, escaped to Algiers, and was sent to Solyman; who espoused his quarrel, and equipped a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels in order to place him on the throne of his ancestors. After the capture of Tunis, Tripoli was taken from Don Pedro de Navarra by Shereddin Barbarossa.

Hassan, the murderer of his father and brothers, fled to Charles the Fifth, who resolved to embrace this pretence for taking possession of the coast, and sent over a Spanish army in a fleet of five hundred vessels. Sinan lay in the Goletta with six thousand men, and Shereddin himself was posted under the artillery of Tunis with fifty thousand. The Spanish army was inspired with the ancient enthusiasm of the knights of the cross; their fire stormed the fortress, and even Shereddin was obliged to give way. At this moment ten thousand Christian slaves burst their fetters and made themselves masters of the citadel of Tunis. This day cost the lives of thirty thousand of the people of Tunis. Shereddin retreated into the interior of the country, and the Spaniards plundered the seat of the power of the Abuhafidæ. Hassan was put in possession of the country: he gave up the harbor to the emperor, and Tripoli was placed under the direction of the knights of St. John.

These occurrences only served to inflame the rage of Shereddin against the coasts of Italy. Charles's fleet was destroyed by a violent tempest; and the knights of St. John were soon driven from Tripoli.

We shall see, in the following Book, how the power of the Sheriffs was established at this period in Morocco.

SECTION XVIII.

CONCLUSION OF THE AGE OF CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Charles reckoned among his dominions the greater part of the most fertile provinces, and of the most warlike nations of Europe: he was sole master of the treasures of America; and the power of his fortunate son was now so much augmented by his marriage with Mary, queen of England, that France was obliged to seek alliances against him in Sweden, at Constantinople, and among the protestants of Germany.

Russia was emerging from its barbarism; and the Ottoman empire had long been the terror of the civilized world. Either of these powers, should their energy be increased by improved laws and customs, might shake the system of European society to its foundations.

The revolution ultimately effected in commerce and in the relations of political power by the gold mines of Peru, was in progress, but was not yet developed. The human mind, more adventurous and enlightened than in former ages, but too much occupied by controversies which it is not possible to decide, was in commotion. Great alterations had taken place since the time of Lewis the Eleventh, and still greater changes were to be expected; for every thing was out of proportion, and the rulers of the great states of Europe were more formidable from the extent of their dominions, than from their ability to animate and govern them, or to avail themselves of their resources.

BOOK XX.

THE AGE OF PHILIP THE SECOND. A. D. 1556—1598

SECTION I.

PHILIP THE SECOND.

Philip the Second, the only legitimate son of Charles the Fifth, was about twenty-nine years old when he succeeded to the inheritance of the sovereignty of Spain, Naples, Milan, Sicily, Upper Burgundy, all the Netherlands, Mexico, and Peru; and he had already obtained the crowns of England and Ireland by his marriage with Mary. His father was still living when his general, Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, obtained the memorable victory at St. Quentin over the constable Montmorency, of which the late emperor said, that it opened to his son the way to Paris. His uncle Ferdinand was emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and prince of the hereditary dominions of Austria. Of the nations subject to the house of Austria, some were martial in their temper and now accustomed to military discipline; others acute, enterprising, and successful in the peaceful arts. The silver mines of Potosi were becoming continually more productive: two of the most distinguished commanders, Don Juan of Austria, his natural brother, and Alessandro Farnese, the son of his illegitimate sister, were both in his service, and devoid of all pretensions to his crowns. The inhabitants of the South were completely reduced to obedience, though they had not yet been so long inured to despotism as to have lost their energy of

character; and the Flemings, who had been warmly attached to his father, were well inclined to support their present master.

No other prince was powerful enough to venture on disputing the pre-eminence of Philip. His nephew Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, was a child: in France, the death of Henry the Second was succeeded by the feeble administration of Francis the Second, and by the long minority of Charles the Ninth: in Sweden, the turbulent reign of the unfortunate Erich the Fourteenth had followed the decease of Gustavus Vasa: in Poland, the extinction of the dynasty of Jagello was the signal for the most destructive commotions; and the sultans of Turkey kept themselves shut up in their seraglio. Among the republics, Genoa was in the interest of Spain; Venice in fear of her power; and the catholic part of Switzerland in alliance with her against the protestant districts. The pope was often obliged, against his inclination, to support the Catholic king; because the latter had taken upon himself the office of defender of the faith.

With all these advantages Philip united a reflecting mind, systematic principles in politics, a keen and steady attention to all such events as might happen in any country to favor his interests, great perseverance, admirable firmness under adverse occurrences, and an appearance of devotion calculated to make a strong impression on the people, together with that stately reserve which the multitude mistakes for dignity. Notwithstanding this severity of deportment, his manners were affable and gracious, when he chose to assume that character. He suffered nothing to stand in the way of his undertakings: he regarded religion and crime as two instruments, of which he equally availed himself without hesitation, according as either was suitable to his purposes; for he seemed to think that the performance of certain exterior rites of devotion, and a strict adherence in religious opinions to the keys of Rome, gave him unbounded license in all other respects.

The natural gloom of his disposition extended its influence over his violent passions, with which he combined a host of political prejudices; for his inclinations were still

more despotic than his principles. He thought only of sacrificing every thing to his interest; but never imagined that his real interest could consist in the happiness of his subjects, and in the confidence and esteem of the neighboring states. The only art of government which he employed, was to terrify and abase all those to whom birth or wealth, or talent, had given any degree of independent greatness; and however decided his superiority, he could condescend to employ the meanest instruments, in order to compass every object: united to a character such as this, which diffused universal suspicion and disquietude, his political principles were a real misfortune; for they only served to render him more persevering in pernicious undertakings.

Philip has been compared, with justice, to Tiberius. Both these tyrants attempted and accomplished the abasement of the character of their people; both were equally dreaded by their own families and by their subjects; both full of the deepest dissimulation, cowardly, severe towards others, and licentious in their own habits: but the tyranny of Philip was uniformly more insidious; whereas Tiberius, at last, entirely discarded the mask. They were both men of weak minds: their souls were not sufficiently vigorous to be capable of combining the sentiments of humanity with the possession of regal power.

Mary queen of England died shortly after Philip's accession to his other dominions (A. D. 1558); and he had rendered himself too odious to the people of that nation, to hope to retain his influence over them, or to gain the hand of Mary's more prudent sister. His remembrance was inseparably connected in the minds of the English, with the loss of Calais; and from the decease of Mary he confined himself to Spain.

The judges of the inquisition soon began to develope the whole power of their horrid commission. Carranga, archbishop of Toledo, languished in despair eight years in the dungeons of Valladolid; and if it had not been for the interference of the pope, he would have been burnt as a heretic. All the advantages which the natural fertility of the soil, the ancient example of Moorish industry, the re-

storation of learning, and the native energy of their minds, seemed to have secured to the Spaniards, speedily disappeared: the confidence of social intercourse was destroyed, and the pleasures of friendship were annihilated, by the pestilent activity of the spies employed by the court and the inquisition. The Moors of Grenada became weary of the yoke and made an insurrection: but the overwhelming power of Philip subdued their spirit, and this occurrence only furnished his suspicious tyranny with new food and a fresh pretext. He endeavored, in the same manner, to extinguish the spirit of liberty which from ancient times had distinguished the Flemings, and had rendered them so enterprising and opulent, but which, unquestionably, contributed to the extension of the Lutheran doctrines among them. He resolved to introduce the inquisition and new taxes; determined that there should be *one* mode of worship and *one* Lord; and, in the end, sacrificed his whole interest in that country to these fantastic schemes.

SECTION II.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The ancient masters of the Netherlands, who had by degrees reclaimed the country which extends from the mouths of the Rhine to those of the Elbe and Weser, had no other means of performing this undertaking, than by inviting men, by the attractions of security for property and social order, to settle among them. It was necessary to oppose the exertions of a great number of men to the inroads of the ocean; for the Zuydersee, the Dollar, and the sea of Harlaem had, by sudden irruptions within the memory of man, overwhelmed the insecure coasts with the waves of the ocean: hence it was requisite to protect the rest of the country by immense dams. But before such works could be undertaken as the cultivation of the heaths of Drenthe and Overyssel, or the improvement of the sands of Guelders, or the preservation of the rest of the Batavian peninsula, it was necessary that the inhabitants should be

assured that they were laboring for themselves and their children. Hence the ancient counts of this country had governed it with paternal mildness, and Philip the Good with his peculiar prudence and benevolence. When the necessities of the state increased, the exemptions were diminished; and the nobles, ecclesiastics, and citizens, when they became purchasers of lands subjected to the taxes, were with justice prevented from communicating to such acquisitions their personal privileges, which would have had the effect of increasing the burdens of the unprivileged class. But all the taxes on consumption, or on the property of the inhabitants, were imposed with the consent of the states.

Charles the Fifth several times gave these assemblies cause of alarm: but ancient laws and established custom justified his intolerance of innovators in matters of faith; and when he required an augmentation of the imposts, he grounded his demand on the pressure of the circumstances of the times, and gained the minds of the people by his flattering manners. In fact, he respected his subjects of the Netherlands, and promoted their interests.

Philip was offended by the open simplicity of their manners: he was too proud to manifest any particular esteem for them, and he preferred the more obedient Spaniards as officers. By this conduct he offended the counts Egmont and Horn, and the prince of Orange, and thus provided leaders for the disaffected; while all the odious and oppressive measures, which were devised by himself and his ministers, strengthened the opposition.

Under these circumstances, the king resolved to send the duke of Alva into the Netherlands, to terrify the inhabitants into submission by his atrocities. A. D. 1567. It has been computed, that in six years upwards of eighteen thousand individuals perished by the orders of this commander under the hand of the executioner. But the ministers of kings understand courts better than nations. Alva knew how to calculate the number of the inhabitants, and the measure of their physical powers; and what were these compared with the resources of his master? But he had omitted in his calculation what the resolute firmness

of an irritated people is capable of performing: he was thoroughly acquainted with the usual character of courtiers; but he was incapable of conceiving the strength of virtue such as was displayed in the prince of Orange.

Count William of Nassau had become prince of Orange by the will of his cousin Renatus, who, by his mother's side, was the heir of Philibert the last prince of Orange, of the house of Chalons in Upper Burgundy. Philibert had fallen, during the siege of Florence, in a combat with the people of Pisa and Volterra, who were hastening to the relief of the Florentines. William possessed, in the county of Burgundy, the extensive estates of Chalons; and in Flanders, those by which the ancient house of Orange had been rewarded for its services to the dukes of Burgundy: at the same time he was royal stadtholder in the provinces of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. He appeared, in declaring himself on the side of the national rights, to hazard in every respect, more than he could hope to gain; especially if we consider the irresolution, the dissensions, and the inconsiderable resources of the multitude, and the jealousy of their leaders.

His love of freedom, which the court might possibly have tamed in the beginning by the adoption of the most gentle measures, was shocked at the idea of the fetters which he perceived the king to be preparing for the nobles, as well as for the citizens; and he saw that no regard whatever was paid to the maxims of rectitude. William was not one of those enthusiastic heroes who inflame a people for the establishment of independence: he possessed by no means an impassioned character; but, on the contrary, an unruffled tranquillity of mind, a cool understanding, and a native perception of right, which he maintained with great perseverance. He exhibited the extraordinary union of the characteristics of a statesman, with the virtues of an ancient Roman; and of the simple manners of a private citizen, with the sound and correct judgment of a man experienced in the world.

As his only object was the public good, and as he sacrificed his own interest to those of Holland, he succeeded in uniting the different parties in pursuit of one object; and

directed their measures without a title, and without their even perceiving the extent of his influence. By his capacity and his virtues he acquired their confidence; and he was now equally inaccessible to the temptations and to the menaces of the court; he was neither terrified with the sword of Alva, nor deceived by the arts of Ludwig von Requesen; nor perplexed by the boldness or by the artifices of Don Juan of Austria.

When Philip committed the task of reducing this country to obedience to Alexander Farnese, the best general of his age, William found means to frustrate both his power and his military talents. The prince at length succeeded, by means of the compact concluded at Utrecht (A. D. 1579), in uniting seven provinces of opposite constitutions and circumstances, in one republic: and although there now existed neither a committee of the states-general, which had formerly been assembled, nor the privileges which were afterwards attached to the office of stadtholder, he remained at the head of the new confederacy. The states assembled in great numbers; and his courage, calmness, and penetration gave him that commanding influence which the orators among the Greeks procured by their talents.

The constitution of the united Netherlands was simply that of a league for mutual defence against all enemies whatsoever; and as this is necessarily a lasting cause of union, so the confederacy was declared to be permanent: but as this was their only common object, the constitution of each separate province, town and district, remained unchanged, and subject only to such alterations as its inhabitants might think proper to adopt. Their exertions in the cause of liberty arose naturally from the circumstances of their country, which owed its very existence to freedom: for they could neither preserve their land, nor provide for their own sustenance without great exertions; and great exertions are impossible among slaves. But even the nature of the country provided them with powerful means of defence; for as their labor was necessary to its preservation, so they could at any time lay it under water.

They paid so little attention in the beginning of their career, to the plans of the constitution which they ultimately adopted, that they did not hesitate to offer the highest dignity of their state to Matthias of Austria, brother of the emperor Rudolf, to Francis duke d'Alençon, brother of the king of France, and to Robert earl of Leicester, the favorite of the queen of England. The Hollanders were ignorant of their own strength, and thought it an idle dream to imagine that they could support themselves by their own exertions, against the power of the Spanish monarchy; and induced by this idea they committed the dangerous mistake of putting themselves under the protection of the foreigners above-mentioned. Happily for them the archduke was not a man of enterprise, when he saw that he had to do with a people who were not easily terrified; the duke d'Alençon, who was of a vehement character, but was destitute of fixed principles, marred his own projects, by manifesting too openly that he intended to subjugate those who had applied to him for protection and defence; and earl Leicester, who knew no God but interest, and no country but the court, was not calculated to acquire influence among such a people.

A. D. 1584. Before the new republic was securely settled, the prince of Orange fell by assassination: though born to great possessions he left behind him nothing but debts; and he had endeavored to secure no other fortunes for his sons, than such as they might acquire for themselves by their virtue and abilities. Maurice, his first-born, whose education had been conducted, according to the custom of our forefathers, on the model of the ancients, had eagerly adopted the Roman method of making war; and when he began to command the Hollanders, A. D. 1587, the officers who had grown old in service, ridiculed the learned rules which the young soldier wished to introduce. But Maurice, full of the genius of the ancients, raised his views far above the precepts of Basta, Melzo, and Croce, the most esteemed teachers of the art of war in that age; and began, in imitation of the Romans, by introducing military discipline, and a better method of encampment: in the attack and defence of fortified places, which was the

science of which he stood most in need, he manifested extraordinary abilities; as well as in the incessant invention of auxiliary resources, in opposition to the measures of Alexander. He had this one advantage over the Spaniards, that activity developed his talents, and his good fortune increased his influence; while the duration of the war consumed the treasure and the flower of the troops of Spain, and the success of Alexander excited the jealousy of Philip. This general is said to have fallen a sacrifice to the vexations he experienced. A. D. 1592.

Maurice, who was, strictly so called, the first stadtholder, or administrator of political power in the new republic, contrived to balance its relations, (A. D. 1587), both with France and England, so prudently, that he happily preserved its independence on each side; and in the prosecution of the Spanish war, secured the favor of both by means of their common interests.

SECTION III.

FRANCE.

While the king of Spain was exerting himself in vain to subdue the Hollanders, he conceived the project of subjecting the French monarchy to his power; under the name of his favorite danghter, Clara Eugenia.

After the peace of Chateau Cambresis, the French nation was dispirited, and its resources exhausted: an insurrection took place in Guienne against the collectors of the salt-duty; agriculture was neglected; and the capital, the citizens of which, as well as the nobility, were wholly exempt from the land-tax, began to exert a very pernicious influence on the population of the provinces. The ecclesiastics complained of the tax of a twenty-fifth, which had been imposed on the bells and church plate, and the produce of which had been expended, by the policy of the state, in a war carried on in favor of the Protestants of Germany, against a catholic emperor. Recourse was soon had to new forced loans; and the *taille* was augmented

exactly at the time when the spirit of party, emanating from the court, was kindling the flames of domestic war, which necessarily diminished the productiveness of the country: this tax was quadrupled during the turbulent reign of Henry the Third. The court, instead of displaying the simple manners of the time of Lewis the Twelfth, or the elegant refinement of Francis the First, was the theatre of the most shameless vice and of unpunished crime. Catharine de Medici, widow of Henry the Second, and mother of Francis the Second, Charles the Ninth, and Henry the Third, was a woman of a weak and narrow understanding; but licentious enough to make use indifferently of the mask of virtue, or the abominations of tyranny, as they best suited her purpose. Public spirit was not yet entirely destroyed; but the artifices of faction misled the opinions of men with regard to the real advantage of the state. One individual, the chancellor de l'Hopital, whose genius and exalted soul deserves to be commemorated in the history of human nature, employed the authority which this miserable age still allowed to the public voice, as expressed by the states-general, for the purpose of introducing a more perfect administration of justice; and excellent laws were promulgated by the assemblies at Blois and Moulins, under the most debased governments. This chancellor was the first who openly maintained that the sale of offices was advantageous; contrary to the opinion of Catharine, who wished that court favor should be still more powerful than wealth, and who, in the certainty that she should have been no loser by the change, would willingly have permitted the state to lose the revenue it derived from the appointment of counsellors of the parliaments. The abuse soon rose to such a height, that the sale of offices was again introduced, in a manner not without resemblance to the laws of the ancients.

The divisions in the court of Francis the Second, where several parties were striving for superiority, gave rise to the conspiracy at Amboise, the object of which was to break the formidable power of the dukes de Guise; and excited many domestic wars, of which religion was the pretence or the watch-word. The harmless and reasonable

demand of freedom in religious matters, was contended for by one party, and refused by the other with increasing eagerness; because the leader who embraced either side of the question, drew a multitude of people into his interest. Hence the princes of the house of Bourbon, and the dukes de Guise, princes of Lorraine, carried on, under Charles the Ninth and Henry the Third, eight religious wars, the real causes of which were the weakness of the kings, and the approaching extinction of the dynasty of Valois.

It was chiefly the levity of character which disgraced these two kings, both of whom were possessed of some good qualities, that rendered them so easy to be misled by the influence of evil counsels. Thus Charles the Ninth was induced to sully the annals of his country with the massacre of St. Bartholomew: a stroke of state policy against the Huguenots, which, like that of Christian the Second against the nobility of Sweden, was productive of as much mischief to the court, as to those against whom it was directed; for it converted that party into irreconcilable enemies, whose arms might have held in equipoise the overbearing power of the Guises. The vigor and talent which Henry the Third had in some instances manifested, were lost in his love of pleasure: and he thought to atone for his sins by penitential processions, without reflecting that other faults which he committed in his kingly capacity, were the causes of his misfortunes.

In this situation of affairs, Philip expended the greater part of the revenue, which the contests in the Netherlands left at his disposal, in fomenting the disturbances in France; but the ambition of the party leaders counteracted his designs: for after Guise, on whom the hopes of a great part of the nation were fixed, had been murdered by command of the king against whom he was continually in rebellion, each of his survivors chose rather to sell himself to the legitimate successor, than to contribute to subject his country to the yoke of the Spanish tyrant.

Henry the Fourth, whose character was diametrically opposite, and who chose to display his indulgence for popular prejudices in changing his religion, quickly succeeded in tranquillizing all parties; and even in rendering France

a formidable enemy to Spain, notwithstanding the civil war of thirty years, in which the former nation had been involved. During that struggle, amidst all its desolating effects, the excitement produced by the agitation of interests so powerful as those which had been the sources of contention, had imparted to the nation an energy which only stood in need of a better object.

Henry the Second had left behind him a debt amounting to forty-two millions; and Henry the Third, one of three hundred and thirty millions: but Henry the Fourth, although he was obliged to incur heavy expenses in order to defeat or to bribe his enemies, not only discharged all the state debts, but left a considerable sum in his treasury, together with an army competent to the greatest undertakings. Sully, Henry's minister, who displayed as much heroism in his struggles against court intrigues, as his master in his contests with the Spaniards, had in that short space of time, by the influence of his virtue and wisdom, retrieved the disordered affairs of the state: a striking example of what may be done for France, by the spirit of order, the courage and integrity of an individual.

Philip, instead of becoming the father and umpire of Europe, as he would have been if he had employed his prodigious power for the preservation of peace, rendered himself the object of universal detestation by his fatal ambition. Henry the Fourth, who was an excellent general, especially in the management of infantry, was not so extensively learned in the whole compass of the art of war, as prince Maurice of Orange; but he was superior to him in the power of inspiring his soldiers with the ardor of enthusiasm. His benevolent and amiable character, his rectitude and intrepidity, gave him the victory over all the insidious contrivances of Philip.

SECTION IV.

ENGLAND.

A. D. 1559. Elizabeth queen of England, the daughter of Henry the Eighth, and sister of Edward the Sixth and

of Mary, was zealously supported by her subjects in her opposition to all the hostile projects of the Spaniards against the Protestants and the Netherlands. The tyranny of her father, which consisted in transitory oppression and in single instances of barbarity, had not destroyed the spirit of the nation or undermined its laws. His arbitrary proceedings were endured, partly through the terror which the court of the star-chamber inspired; and partly because the influence of the peers was so much diminished, the commons so much impoverished, and the king, enriched by the plunder of the monasteries, under so little pecuniary difficulty; that the free spirit of the English nation could neither control him by open resistance nor by the refusal of subsidies. Elizabeth was more frequently under the necessity of applying to her faithful commons for supplies towards the prosecution of her wars against Philip, and these were granted without difficulty. The English cruisers were remunerated by the booty which the galleons from Mexico and Peru afforded them. The queen was able to accomplish all her objects, because she desired nothing but what was suitable to the spirit of the age and of the nation.

The enterprises of the English by sea, were as destructive to the power of Spain, as those of prince Maurice and Henry the Fourth by land: and the naval power of the Spaniards never recovered from the blow which its "invincible armada" received from the English and the Dutch. A. D. 1588.

The queen had sufficient understanding, and even learning, to be able to distinguish, in the religious disputes of the age, the rational grounds of contention from those which had been overstrained by the spirit of party. She was a moderate protestant: she maintained, at the same time, with distinguished prudence, the dignity which became her station; and displayed in great emergencies intrepid firmness.

Refinement of taste and manners were cultivated as the means of gaining her approbation, and the knowledge of the ancients as the road to places of honor and profit. The military character of her age displayed something of ro-

mantic splendor, together with a chivalrous sentiment of respect towards the fair sex; and at no former period had England possessed a greater number of eminent statesmen, warriors, and men of learning. Towards the end of this reign arose Bacon, the only man since the time of Aristotle, who, surrounded with numerous and imposing errors, surveyed in one comprehensive view all that was yet known, and foresaw the future and more remote limits of human knowledge: he aroused the world to labor for the "augmentation of science," and the human mind was awakened from its tedious slumber.

The militia consisted of eighty-seven thousand men, half of whom were practised in military exercises: the cavalry was fourteen thousand strong, of which number three thousand served as light-horsemen; and nine thousand men were engaged in other employments in the field and in fortresses. The militia of Yorkshire, and a part of the principality of Wales, and some garrisons in the Marches, are not included in these numbers. Sir John Smith was the principal teacher of tactics, and Sir Robert Williams endeavored to introduce the military discipline of the ancient Romans.

The queen had thirty-three ships of the line, and her coasts were so well protected that they were seldom disturbed by corsairs; while those of Spain were often plundered by English commanders. A. D. 1580. Sir Francis Drake made a voyage round the world; and Richard Grenville discovered the country of Vingandecaow, which in honor of the queen was named Virginia, and where Raleigh and Smith founded the North American colonies.

Elizabeth's revenue did not exceed one million sterling; but the support of her people was never refused to her; and the parliament consented in this reign, for the first time, to double the subsidies. In sudden and very pressing emergencies, however, the queen was under the necessity of selling a part of the crown lands; and her successors hence became more dependent on the will of the commons.

The two archbishops and twenty-four bishops continued, even after the Reformation, to sit in the upper house; not however as a distinct class, but as representatives of their

baronies: they were nominated by the queen, and received their episcopal ordination from the hands of one archbishop and two bishops. The queen had also the nomination of a third part of the benefices; and of these there were ten thousand belonging to parish churches, and about sixty archdeaconries. The clergy had no very distinguished reputation; their intellectual acquirements were not superior or even equal to those of the other classes: and this was far from being considered a misfortune by intelligent men, who looked on the high church as "a horse which was still kept always saddled, in readiness for the pope."

The temporal lords, who had seats in the upper house, were one marquis, sixteen earls, two viscounts, and forty barons, peers of the realm. The commons were chosen, as in more ancient times, by counties, cities, and boroughs. One instance of bribery was discovered; Thomas Longe having given four pounds sterling to the voters of a borough town.

England was in a prosperous condition: common lands were frequently enclosed, and a better system of management began to appear in agriculture and in the breeding of cattle; in consequence of which, advances took place in the prices of wool, rents, and the wages of labor. The robbers were driven from the morasses of Solway, and iron doors and blood-hounds consequently fell into disuse, as no longer necessary.

Amidst the proud and barbarous independence of Ireland, Tyr O'Neale perceived the advantages of civilization, and was attracted by the graces of genius and the fine arts.

The natural course of affairs, accelerated by the Reformation, produced laws in the midst of the commotions of Scotland, the object of which was peace and prosperity. Queen Mary was endued with a much larger share of attractions than was advantageous to her, surrounded as she was by rude barons and pedantic preachers.

She fled from the vengeance of her Scottish subjects; but her evil star led her to Elizabeth, who thought it necessary, for the peace and security of England, to put her to death. A. D. 1587.

Thus, whilst the Hollanders were establishing their in-

dependence, and Henry the Great was restoring to France the enjoyment of her long lost tranquillity, an Augustan age was preparing itself in England. Among the powers of which we have as yet spoken, Spain, the most powerful, was the only one which fell into a state of decline; because her king, the enemy of his own interests, preferred rather to throw the world into confusion, than to promote the happiness of his people, by adopting a system of government founded upon liberal principles.

SECTION V.

PORTUGAL AND MOROCCO.

A. D. 1555. After the death of king Juan the Third, the minister wished to take Don Sebastian, who was still in his minority, out of the hands of the monks; who, he thought, were not men fit to be entrusted with the education of a prince: and he was the more solicitous on this account, because the young king had already manifested an inclination to extravagant and fanatical notions. But the jesuits gained over the cardinal Henry, brother to the late king, by means of a legation *à latere*, which the pope bestowed on him and which rendered him more dependent on Rome. With his assistance, they carried matters so far that their enemies, and even the queen-dowager, were obliged to quit the court. They caused the chairs of professors of the laws to be given to members of their body; and obtained, accordingly, the power of expounding the laws and of modifying their temper. Subsidies had been obtained from Rome for the support of the naval power of Portugal; and hence the enterprising fleet of that kingdom came to be dependent on the pope. Don Alessio Menezes foresaw the consequences of these proceedings, and died of grief. A. D. 1569.

When the king became of age, the cardinal was also removed. The old queen wishing that the king should marry, they gave her to understand that this could not take place, so long as she continued to receive the income of the

queens: upon this, she withdrew from the court; but as the king showed some signs of tenderness for his rejected grandmother, the jesuits, under pretence of showing him to the people, caused his attention to be diverted by travelling. They afterwards persuaded him to enact laws, by which the perfect purity of the ancient church was to be restored: but as this project was found to be unattainable, the only effect of these regulations was to augment the influence of the absolving confessors. The nation now began to murmur; and in order to give it a subject on which to fix its attention, the jesuits advised the king to undertake an expedition against the Sheriff.

The Sheriff, whom we usually call king or emperor of Morocco, is sovereign of the country which reaches from the straits of Gibraltar and from the western coast of Africa into the desert beyond the mountains of Daran. This country is two hundred and fifty leagues in length from north to south, and a hundred and forty in breadth from east to west: it consists almost universally of fertile districts, and contains a number of towns which are large and, for that part of the world, opulent. The descendants of the great prophet of the Arabs are called Sheriffs.

An individual of this family, named Muley Meheres, plundered the caravans which were travelling to Mecca, and was obliged by the reigning prince of Fez to take refuge in the mountains. The Merinides at that time were masters of the country. Many of the sheriffs took upon themselves the profession of saints, which consists in renouncing the world, in order, by the duration and intensity of their devotions, to become absorbed in the fountain of the eternal light, and to be assimilated to the nature of God. By this method they acquired a privilege most acceptable to the passions, all actions becoming to them for the future guiltless and indifferent. Veneration for these impostors induced the hereditary princes of the wandering shepherds of that mountainous country to pay them tithes; and with the revenue thus acquired, the sheriffs took into their pay a body of five hundred men, and got possession of the little town of Tarudant. From this time they declared themselves the messengers of God, commissioned to deliver

Magrab or the western country, from its infidel possessors, meaning the Portuguese.

A trifling victory filled all Magrab with confidence: the saints took their course to Morocco, where the emir of the Merinides, seated on the throne of his fathers and surrounded by the nobles, was murdered (such, as they said, was the will of God) by two of their number in the face of the people: and Morocco swore allegiance to the sheriff Hamed, who was the founder of the present dynasty. The neighboring princes were reduced to obedience (A. D. 1519); sheriff Mohammed conquered Fez, a Persian chief having brought Turkish soldiers to his assistance; Henry the Eighth of England, who concluded a treaty of commerce with him, relating to his sugar plantations at Tarudant, provided him with arms and ammunition, and his coffers were filled by the united treasures of many conquered states. Abdallah, the son of this sheriff, was the prince against whom Don Sebastian directed his armament.

The king of Portugal was occupied with the idea of going to the East Indies and being there crowned emperor of the East, when a brother of Abdallah, who had been banished by the sheriff, applied to him for assistance. The old queen, sister of Charles the fifth, endeavored to counteract the design of an African campaign; but she was unable to prevent it, and soon died from the effect of vexation. Meanwhile the king, full of zeal but utterly destitute of military knowledge, sailed to Africa. Sheriff Abdallah, although eighty years of age and in a dying state, arranged the order of battle: but he did not live to witness the victory which his troops obtained; for during the heat of the engagement, and while, with closing eyes, he laid his finger on his lips as a signal that his death must be concealed, the vital spark escaped. A. D. 1578. Sebastian disappeared, and probably fell in the action; yet many were for a long time of opinion, that he had been made prisoner in consequence of having lost his way, and that he was living in the condition of a slave, in distant countries.

The king's great uncle, cardinal Henry, one of the sons

of Emanuel, upon the news of this disaster assumed the crown: he was the only remaining male descendant of Emanuel, except Auton, prior at Crato, an illegitimate son of the duke of Bejo. Don Edward, another of Emanuel's sons had left two daughters; the eldest of whom, Maria, was married to the illustrious Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma; but her pretensions were opposed by a fundamental law of Lamego, by which she was excluded, as being a foreigner, from the succession: the second, Catharine, had married the duke of Braganza, and the title to the throne was legally her's. The old king was conscious of her rights, and intended to declare her his successor: but Don Juan Mascarenhas betrayed this circumstance to the Spanish ambassador. The wife of Charles the Fifth, and mother of Philip the Second, was a daughter of king Emanuel: she was excluded from the right of succession as a foreigner, but her son aspired to the throne; and on the day when the pious and peaceable old man intended to declare his successor, the jesuits so terrified him with superstitious prognostics and with the power of Philip, that he died at last without having made any decision. A. D. 1580.

The duke of Braganza was a nobleman of peaceable dispositions and contracted views; and the confusion in which the affairs of France were involved, the hitherto trifling power of Holland, and the disinclination of Queen Elizabeth to foreign wars, cut off all the sources of his hopes. The stratagems and the arms of the duke of Alva rendered Philip master of Portugal: the nobles were gained over, the people terrified, and enterprising individuals put to death under various pretences. A small number of troops was sufficient to secure the government against the attempts of the prior of Crato, which were few and unsuccessful: and Braganza was contented with the dignities bestowed upon him.

Eight hundred and sixty-seven years after the destruction of the monarchy of the Visigoths, the whole peninsula was again united under one head: a great and happy empire, if Philip had only known the first duty of a ruler!

The queen-regent, grandmother of Sebastian, had esta-

blished, in imitation of what Charles the Fifth had done in Spain, a council of state consisting of spiritual and temporal lords, for the assistance of the young king during his minority. This council, which had been substituted in the room of the former deputies of the states, was abolished by the new sovereign: and as it is a standing maxim of despotism, to divide in order to unite under its own power; Philip did not choose that Portugal should possess a common point of union in her ancient capital, and therefore erected at Oporto a separate jurisdiction for the northern provinces.

SECTION VI.

TURKEY AND THE NORTH OF AFRICA.

A. D. 1566. Selim the Second, padisha of the Ottoman Turks, whose harem contained two thousand women, was induced by court intrigues and tempted by the generous wine of Cyprus, to declare war against the Venetians who were masters of that island. Malek el Ashraf Abunaser Barsabai, nephew of the great Saladin, had rendered the kings of Cyprus tributary about the year 1226; and Selim, under pretence of some infraction of the compact which had been renewed by his ancestors, made himself master of the island. A. D. 1571. Mustapha Pasha took the capital Famagosta, after a vigorous defence, and caused its commander, the noble Barberigo, to be cruelly murdered. These events renewed the terror of Italy, and excited the enthusiasm of all the Christians of the south of Europe; who furnished a fleet, under the name of his holiness pope Pius the Fifth (Ghioiliari), the command of which was given to Don Juan of Austria, the son of Charles the Fifth by Barbara Blomberg. This commander, who had been educated together with Philip's unfortunate son and Alexander Farnese, was equal to his two companions in talent, and their superior in the graces of his person, and in heroic courage: he was only twenty-six years of age when, as admiral of the Christian fleet, he gave battle

to the Turks in the famous action of Lepanto (A. D. 1571); in which their naval power received a shock which it did not recover for many years.

Don Juan, after this victory, conquered Tunis and Viserta; and would have founded a powerful kingdom in the north of Africa, which would have extended to the coasts of the Atlantic, and over countries which were the granaries of southern Europe, if he had not been prevented by the jealousy of Philip. After his removal, Serbellone, commandant of the citadel of Tunis, was left destitute of succor, and was therefore obliged to surrender the fortress to Sinari, the captain pasha, who sent the prince, a descendant of the Abuhaffidæ, who had been governor of the place under the protection of Spain, in chains to Constantinople. Don Juan never came again into this country: he was appointed governor of the Belgic provinces; and after undergoing innumerable vexations, by which his constitution was weakened, he died (A. D. 1576), not without suspicion of having taken poison. The duke of Parma quitted the world in a similar manner (A. D. 1599): and Don Carlos, infant of Spain, had already been executed by order of his father. A. D. 1568.

The Turks, notwithstanding their defeat at Lepanto, still retained possession of the kingdom of Cyprus; but from that time they made no considerable conquests during sixty years. Morad, Mehmed, and Achmed, the successors of Selim, abandoned themselves to voluptuousness, and forgot both friends and enemies. Ibrahim Pasha, grand visier of the Third Mohammed, or Mehmed, procured the abolition of the offices of the six visiers who had seats in the divan; and the padisha, contented with having put to death his nineteen brothers, whose bodies were thrown into the sea, left the management of all business to his minister, and reserved nothing for himself but the enjoyments of his seraglio.

SECTION VII.

SITUATION OF ITALY.

In Italy, Milan, Naples, and Sicily were subject to Spain. The voluptuous reign of pope Julius the Third was followed by the haughty government of Caraffa, or Paul the Fourth, who was succeeded by Pius the Fourth or Medighino, and Pius the Fifth or Ghisilieri, distinguished for their holy zeal. Buoncompagni, or Gregory the Thirteenth, reigned next, whose piety and good intentions inspired veneration; and afterwards Montalto, who took the name of Sixtus the Fifth. The measures of this pontiff were directed by the wise and steady policy of a great statesman: he did not neglect his duties on account of the power of the church: he established a system of police in Rome, which had hitherto been the scene of the excesses of powerful nobles, and he accumulated a treasure for future emergencies: he was well aware of the hypocrisy of Philip, and was secretly the enemy of his policy. Aldobrandini, Pope Clement the Eighth, found it indispensably necessary to adopt the severity of his predecessor as the rule of his conduct, on account of the licentiousness of the nobles, who, under the long reign of the mild Buoncompagni, had entirely thrown off the restraints of social order.

The ruling dynasty of Este, at Ferrara and Modena, became extinct: Cæsar, the descendant of an unequal marriage, became duke of Modena, and the pope Aldobrandini took Ferrara from the family. A. D. 1597.

Cosmo the first grand duke of Tuscany, whom we have compared with Augustus, had also a melancholy resemblance to the fate of that emperor in his domestic misfortunes: a duke of Ferrara poisoned Lucretia his wife, a daughter of the grand duke; Orsini, a prince, found some cause for putting to death Isabella, the sister of the former: the cardinal John de Medici was murdered by his brother Garcia in consequence of a hunting quarrel; Cosmo, the father of both the young men, killed Garcia with his own hand; their wretched mother died of grief: and the grand

duke caused his eldest daughter to be poisoned, on account of an unbecoming attachment.

A. D. 1576—1587. Francis the Second, grand duke, met his fate in the following extraordinary manner: Pedro Buonaventuri, a young Florentine, who was learning commerce at Venice, resided near the palace of the family of Capello: an intrigue took place between him and Bianca, the daughter of that senator; and the lady becoming pregnant, the lovers retired into Pedro's native country, where they lived in poverty. On some festive occasion, the beauty of Bianca attracted the attention of the grand duke; and his confidant, Mondragone, procured him an opportunity of meeting her in his house. From this time Buonaventuri became opulent, and was advanced to important offices. He abused the favor which he had obtained, in oppressing the brothers of a widow of whom he had become enamored; and the duke reproaching him with this misconduct, was threatened by him: the prince now permitted the brothers whom Pedro had injured to revenge themselves; and this they effected by murdering him. The grand duchess, a daughter of the emperor Ferdinand, was deceased; and Francis now married Bianca, who was acknowledged by the citizens of Venice as a daughter of the republic. Bianca, who had conceived an enmity against cardinal Ferdinand her brother-in-law, attempted, some time afterwards, to poison him at an entertainment; but the cardinal, perhaps warned of his danger, refused to eat of the suspected dish: the grand duke, who was ignorant of the affair, in order to convince him that his suspicions were groundless, ate of it; and Bianca, who saw that she was lost, partook also in despair, and died with her husband.

A. D. 1587—1609. The cardinal, who now became grand duke and patriarch of the family, was a prince of such distinguished wisdom in the management of state affairs, that many of his principles became fundamental maxims in the policy of more powerful courts. But in private life he abandoned himself, without reserve, to voluptuousness of all kinds. Florence followed his example; and the ancient constitution was forgotten in the enjoyment

of sensual pleasures: even industry began to decline; for the manufacture of cloth produced, under the reign of Cosmo the Second, scarcely an eighth part of the sum which it had yielded in the latter years of the first grand duke; and monopolies, and the privileges of corporations, contributed greatly to arrest the progress of the prosperity of the state. Florence, however, still continued the most refined, the most beautiful, and one of the most opulent of cities.

The house of Savoy was in unceasing activity. When Emanuel Philibert, in consequence of the treaties of Chateau Cambresis and Noyon, had entered into possession of his territories, he found not more than nine hundred thousand subjects: his clear revenue amounted to only two hundred thousand scudi: the barons, who were in number about ten thousand, exerted privileges which were in part usurped; and the exercise of which it is at all times extremely difficult to reconcile with a good system of administration. The duke was possessed of military talents; but his good sense convinced him, that the first and most important object of his attention must necessarily be the establishment of order, and of a new and firm foundation for the future welfare of the state. He raised a militia of twelve thousand men, whom he encouraged by privileges, and whose number he increased threefold before his decease; he founded the citadel at Turin, and fortified Montmelian in Savoy, and Vercelle in Italy; quadrupled the revenue, and encouraged the cultivation of the olive, and the manufacture of silk. He purchased from the family of Doria the dominion of Oneglia, most advantageously situated in the midst of the Genoese territory: and so confirmed his authority by means of his excellent administration and prudent measures, as to prevent the meeting of the states-general, and thus to bring those assemblies into disuse.

A. D. 1584—1630. His son Charles Emanuel possessed the eminent talents of a great prince; and in cases of emergency, the capacity so necessary in his situation, of accommodating himself to all occurrences, and of availing himself of all the resources within his power: he dis-

played great presence of mind, courage and dexterity in the management of affairs; but he neither acquired nor deserved confidence, because his desire of aggrandizement induced him to forget his promises, whenever circumstances rendered it serviceable to his interests. He exchanged Saluzzo, though it was important to him from its situation, for Bresse and Bugey (A. D. 1601); and thereby prepared for duke Victor Amadeus, the acquisition of a part of Montserrat. A. D. 1631.

SECTION VIII.

SWITZERLAND.

Though the pensioners of Philip excited suspicions and misunderstandings among the confederate states of Switzerland, yet the connection of this country with France became more intimate. Under Charles the Ninth, the court owed the preservation of its honor and safety at the retreat of Meaux, to colonel Pfyffer, a native of the canton of Lucerne; and in this reign the first colonel-general of the Swiss troops in the service of France was appointed. Henry the Third was often supported by the revenue as well as by the arms of Switzerland; and during the perils to which Henry the Fourth was exposed, Bern and Geneva, by employing the troops of Charles Emanuel of Savoy which were destined against him, made an important diversion in his favor (A. D. 1589); the issue of which would have been more honorable and more advantageous, if the dangerous connections, and perhaps the private interests, of certain leading persons of Bern, had not been the means of procuring the conclusion of a treaty at Nyon, between the republic and Savoy, by which Geneva was in effect sacrificed. A. D. 1591.

All the communities of the German district of Bern, made representations on this subject, full of truth and energy; and the Schultheiss at Wattewyl, who, according to an established maxim should have held his dignity for life, was compelled to abandon his place. There existed

in the greater cantons a spirit of equality, and a degree of information respecting the affairs of government, which made it necessary to attend to the voice of the people in all matters of importance: and as their confidence is the only strength of these states, nothing can contribute more to the attainment of that end, than their consent to the measures of the counsellors, and a sentiment of freedom which could not exist, in an equal degree, under any less popular form of government. When the government of Zurich acceded, contrary to the wishes of the communities, to the treaty with France (A. D. 1614), that measure was for the first time proposed to the people after its conclusion. From this time forth the governments of Switzerland became more mysterious, and the inequality of ranks more evident: the two sects were also disposed to make sacrifices to their religious zeal, of the most injurious tendency to the welfare of the state; and hence the confederacy lost a great part of its external respectability and of its intrinsic worth.

SECTION IX.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

Philip could expect no assistance from the German branch of the house of Austria, between which and the court of Spain, an unceasing coolness and distrust subsisted for sixty years. Ferdinand the First and Maximilian the Second, were prudent and judicious princes; they maintained toleration, and were principally anxious for the peace and prosperity of their people. Rudolf the Second was entirely devoted to study. The partition of the Russian territories, the mutual jealousy of the two branches of the house of Saxony (A. D. 1567), and the feebleness of that of Brandenburg, facilitated the preservation of the peace of Germany.

A. D. 1553—1586. The electorate of Saxony was the most flourishing state of the empire. The sagacious Augustus regulated it by wise laws, and instituted a su-

preme tribunal of appeals for the purpose of watching over these enactments; he availed himself in matters of political economy, of the intelligence of Bernhard von Arnim, whose views the government of Berlin had been incapable of appreciating; and divided the public domains by his advice. Agriculture began to flourish, and gave birth to commercial industry and manufactures.

Saxony would have been a prosperous country if it had not been thrown into confusion by the divisions of the kindred sects of Augsburg and Geneva (A. D. 1576), which were driven to the utmost pitch of exasperation by the mis-named form of concord. The minority of the elector Christian the Second (A. D. 1591), was disturbed by inquisitions in search of concealed Calvinism.

While individual states were advancing in the career of improvement, the common bond of union between them, instead of becoming firmer, was relaxed by controversies. When the visitation of the supreme court of judicature came to the turn of the protestant states, the necessary work was completely at a stand. A. D. 1588.

SECTION X.

POLAND.

One of the last benefits which the dynasty of Jagello conferred on Poland, was the incorporation of Lithuania with that kingdom, which was concluded at the diet of Lublin. A. D. 1569. The first prince of this dynasty had united these territories; but it was a disputed point whether the highly fertile countries of Wolhynia, Podolia, and Kyow, which had been conquered from the czars by the former princes of Lithuania, should be considered as belonging to that country or to Poland. Sigismund Augustus procured them to be considered as appurtenances of Red Russia, which was a province of the kingdom.

The spirit of the age so facilitated the progress of novel opinions, that the protestants soon possessed forty churches on the territories of the nobility: and the Arians and So-

cinians, who, in their doctrines, went beyond any of the protestant sects, increased in Poland to a greater degree than in any other country. Rukan, in the territory of Sendomir, became the principal seat of the Socinian or Unitarian societies. The incorporation of Lithuania could not be obtained without the consent of the nobles of the Protestant and Greek churches; and in order to procure their concurrence, the profession of faith of the latter was formally established, while the former were raised to so perfect an equality with the catholic nobility, that they were allowed, on the simple condition of remaining Christians, to become members of the senate, and to be eligible to the highest offices in the state. Thus it was owing to the state of political affairs that the spirit of toleration was legalized in Poland; as the spirit of intolerance had been fostered by the circumstances of other states.

A. D. 1572. This arrangement was soon followed by the death of the excellent king Sigismund Augustus, the last descendant of the male line of Jagello. On this occasion the diet, consisting of one hundred and eighty-two country deputies, assembled, and enacted, that in future no king should be allowed to cause his successor to be elected during his own life; and from this time forward the kings of Poland were chosen nearly in the following manner: In the plains of Wola, near Warsaw, the senate and the people were assembled. The forum was composed of the archbishop, primate of Guesen, the archbishop of Lemberg, fifteen bishops, thirty-seven vayvodes, whose dignity was similar to that of the dukes of other countries in the middle ages; eighty-two castellans, who were senators in peace, and deputies of the vayvodes in war; and ten great officers of the crown. The senate of Poland was not an aristocratic assembly, the members of which held their seats by birthright; but the great council of the king, who bestowed the places, and of the republic, to the honor and advantage of which its measures were to be directed. The king had the power of appointing officers, but not of removing them; and the high chancellor and the treasurer were not even accountable to him. The senate assembled in a wooden house, around which, and in a space

enclosed with a wall and ditch, the deputies were stationed; the nobles, or their representatives, were arranged at a still greater distance.

Not only were the kings chosen, but the forms of the constitution were also prescribed in these assemblies: by their regulations the monarch was forbidden of his own authority to make war or peace; to conclude treaties; to appoint ambassadors; to impose taxes; to make innovations of any sort with respect to religion or the laws; or to alienate any of the hereditary possessions of the crown. He had the right of conferring offices, but could bestow only one place on an individual, and was not allowed to revoke the appointment during the life of the possessor. Crown lands were also at his disposal, but under the same limitations as prevailed with respect to offices. He had the nomination of archbishops and bishops, of twelve abbots, and one prior, and the presentations to benefices: but in order to exempt him from the temptation of permitting long vacancies, and appropriating the revenues to his own use, he was obliged to make his election within six months, (otherwise the right of appointing the archbishops and bishops reverted to the pope,) and that of bestowing the inferior offices on the bishops. The king convoked the diet, presided over its sittings, and gave his assent to its enactments, without which the latter were not valid. The judges administered justice in his name. The king was regarded as the fountain of all honor, and could confer the privileges of nobility: but if a nobleman had occasion to vindicate the rights of his station, his appeal was made to the estates of the kingdom. Lastly, the monarch had the power of summoning his nobility to arms, and of commanding them when assembled.

The main design of the Poles was to give majesty to the king, authority to the senate, and freedom to the whole body of the nobility; and the latter object was pursued so far, that the resolutions of the diet were required to be unanimous. In cases of emergency, arising from the licentiousness of a powerful nobleman, or by the capricious exercise of the royal veto, the remainder of the nation entered into a confederacy against the offender.

In the confederation which took place after the death of Sigismund Augustus, all the religious sects were included under the name of dissidents. The greater part of the senators, and Firley, marshal of the diet, were devoted to the new faith, and five thousand churches were in the possessions of ministers of that persuasion; but though Szafraniec, a protestant, was proposed as successor to the deceased monarch under these favorable circumstances, yet the votes were united in favor of Henri de Valois, duke of Anjou, and brother of Charles the Ninth (A. D. 1573); a prince who had already signalized himself in France by his heroic courage.

A. D. 1574. On the decease of his brother, Henry quitted Poland with a degree of precipitation not entirely reconcilable with propriety, and hastened to assume the government of his more brilliant but less happy kingdom of France. The Poles proceeded to elect in his stead Stephen Bathori, prince of Transylvania (A. D. 1575), who was a wise and valiant ruler, and who married Anna Jagello, the sister of the late king, in compliance with the wish of his subjects, who were apprehensive lest she should, by marriage, confer any pretext for a claim to the throne on a foreign family. Anna persuaded her husband to adopt the catholic faith.

Bathori was succeeded by Sigismund Vasa the crown prince of Sweden, who, by his maternal line, was a descendant of Sigismund the First.

SECTION XI.

SWEDEN.

The kingdom of Sweden was governed rather by the personal authority of the monarch than by settled laws, and its external importance depended more on the character of its inhabitants than on the amount of its revenue. The income of Gustavus Vasa did not surpass twenty-four thousand marks, while his expenses frequently exceeded sixty thousand; and yet he was the object of veneration not only to his own people but to all Europe.

A. D. 1568. It was owing to the absurd conduct of his eldest son, and the artifices of his second, that Eric the Fourteenth was deposed, and that John became king in his stead. The artifices of his wife, Catharine of Poland, and of the jesuits, inspired this monarch with a predilection for Catholicism, which had very nearly drawn upon him a fate similar to that of his brother: he lived, however, to see his son Sigismund seated on the throne of Poland.

Sigismund had eagerly imbibed from the jesuits, by whom he was educated and in whose order he held the post of tertiarius, the same spirit of proselytism which animated his mother: and he thought proper to manifest his dislike of the Protestant nobility, in a manner which soon destroyed their confidence in him. When he could prevail on one of this class to become a Catholic, all the churches of the dissidents on his estates were shut up; the bondsmen were compelled to follow the example of their superiors, and the free men to quit his territory: but when, on the other hand, a Catholic nobleman went over to the Protestant party, then the court maintained the freedom of his subjects as to religion. Dissident churches were forbidden on all the crown estates, and Protestants were excluded from the senate.

The Swedes, who had scarcely known how to forgive his father's tranquil preference for Catholicism, were unable to endure a king who was endeavoring with imprudent zeal to counteract all the sentiments and habits which had been introduced among them since the accession of Gustavus Vasa: they therefore deprived him of the kingdom, (A. D. 1597), and committed the administration of affairs to his uncle Charles, duke of Sudermania; at first under the title of protector and afterwards of king. A. D. 1604. Charles had frequently not more than a thousand dollars in his treasury; but his prudence and successful adherence to the maxims of his father, sufficed to confirm his power.

SECTION XII.

DENMARK.

Though Denmark had by no means yet forgotten that her kings had formerly been sovereigns of Sweden, yet few attempts were made towards the re-union of Scandinavia; because Christian the Third was sufficiently occupied in abolishing the national council of the Norwegians, and in completing the incorporation of Norway with Denmark, in order to provide against the risk of another similar loss. This operation was rendered much more easy to the pious monarch by a measure of king John in the early part of this century; who had beheaded the most powerful of the Norwegian nobility, and had by that means diminished the power of the nation.

SECTION XIII.

CONCLUSION.

In all the monarchies of Europe, that of the pope not excepted; and even among the republics, a decided tendency towards the concentration of power in the hands of one or a few individuals, was perceptible in the latter end of this century. The cardinals were not so frequently consulted; the republics became more aristocratical; the monarchies were unlimited, and the despotic governments less cautious. For as, in later ages, the manners of the court of Lewis the Fourteenth and the tactics of Frederick the Second, influenced the neighboring states, so the system pursued by the domineering court of Philip, served more or less as an example to his contemporary sovereigns. The recent and rapid increase in the quantity of the precious metals, and the progress of the industrious arts, also contributed to the same end, by producing a multitude of new desires, which rendered the courts more avaricious and the nobles more dependent

In this case, as in most others, the interests of humanity gained on one hand and lost on the other. Power had passed into a smaller number of hands, and obedience had become more uniform; in consequence of which the progress of cultivation was less frequently disturbed by war, and the arrangements of civil life, the arts and sciences, were pursued with less interruption: but in those countries in which despotism established its detested sway, public spirit necessarily expired: subjects were willing less frequently than free citizens, to die for their country; or, what is still more difficult, to live only for its good.

A. D. 1598. The year in which the peace of Vervins was concluded, was the epoch of resuscitation to the greatness of France, and an ill-omened period to Russia, on account of the extinction of the dynasty of Rurick the Varæger, which had reigned in that country during seven centuries and a half. In the same year, a horrible disease brought Philip the Second to the end of his career; during which he had lost the united Netherlands; had seen the power of England and of France confirmed under the dominion of his enemies; had laid the foundation of the decay of his own monarchy; had given, though lord of the gold mines, the first example of a bankruptcy; and, in an administration of two and forty years, had acquired the detestation of all his contemporaries, and, according to the diverse views of the different parties, the contempt or the curses of posterity.

BOOK XXI.

THE PERIOD OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.—A. D. 1606—1648.

SECTION I.

SITUATION OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG.

The seventeenth century, at its commencement, found Spain drained of its treasure and destitute of eminent men; consequently neither in a condition to prosecute a war with vigor, nor likely to make great advances in the road of improvement, during an interval of peace. Philip the Third was naturally a very weak prince; and his prime minister, the duke of Lerma, had impressed him to such a degree with the necessity of unceasing suspicion, that he not only held no communication with his subjects, but did not even venture to converse with the queen without previously consulting the duke. The colonization of America, the war in the Low Countries, and the incessant enterprises of his father, had produced a pernicious effect on the population of Spain; and the present king banished two hundred thousand Moors, who constituted the most industrious portion of the remaining inhabitants. A. D. 1610.

The political importance of Spain was preserved by two individuals; the first of whom, Ambrose Spinola, was an excellent general according to the tactics of that age; and the other, Bedmar, a consummate negociator. Both were zealous for the interests of their master, as the source of their own fortunes.

The emperor Rudolf the Second, inclined to peaceful pursuits, was compelled by his brother the archduke Matthias, to abdicate the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. A. D. 1608. Matthias was not destitute of talents; but both he and Rudolf died without male issue. A. D. 1611.

Ferdinand, a descendant of the first emperor of the same name, had been educated in Spain, and appeared to be governed by this one prevailing maxim with regard to his duty as a monarch, "that it was necessary that his own creed, in matters of religion, should be the only mode of faith in his dominions; and in temporal affairs, his boundless authority the only power." There were, however, in the hereditary dominions of the emperor, as well as in Hungary and Bohemia, a great number of individuals who were attached to the principles of Protestantism, and zealously devoted to the cause of ancient freedom: the measures of the court of Spain met with impediments equally important, arising from the state of its finances; which were exhausted to such a degree, that the troops were frequently obliged to extort subsistence from the territory in which they lay: and under these circumstances, the necessity of uniting the interests and power of the two branches of the house of Habsburg became so urgent, as to extinguish the mutual jealousy which had now subsisted for sixty years. A. D. 1616.

Portugal was now under the power of Spain; and saw, as the consequence of her subjection, the greater part of the discoveries and conquests of her better days fall into the hands of strangers. The Dutch who were forbidden, as rebels against the authority of Philip, to purchase in Lisbon the commodities of the East Indies, went to the latter country in search of them, where they found an administration which had been rendered feeble by the influence of the climate, by luxurious and effeminate habits, and by spiritual and temporal tyranny: and while Philip the Third (A. D. 1630), after a siege of three years, which cost him from eighty to a hundred thousand men, got possession of Ostend, the Dutch took the isles of Molucca from his Portuguese subjects.

All Asia arose for the expulsion of the strangers it most

detested: in the East Indies their empire was destroyed by the Dutch; the sophi Sha Abbas made himself master of the magnificent Ormuz, called the diamond of the East; Toxogunsama terrified by the fate of other sovereigns, forbade Christians of all denominations to enter the empire of Japan; and, by seventeen years of persecution, destroyed the newly planted faith: the same reasons induced the negush of Habesh to enforce a similar exclusion of the Western believers, while he maintained in this empire the ancient form of Christianity.

Of all the foreign possessions of the Portuguese, Goa in the East Indies, the safety of which was frequently endangered by the natives, and Brazil in America, which was often threatened by the Dutch, alone remained: and the state of weakness to which they were thus reduced, was the reward of their tame submission to tyrants whom they detested.

The English commander, Sir Walter Raleigh, was only withheld by the inadequacy of the resources entrusted to him, from giving a most dangerous overthrow to the power of the Spaniards, even in America.

Italy endured their yoke with impatience, and even Rome wished to see them humbled: Venice had good reason both to fear and to hate the two lines of the family of Habsburg; for the marquis of Bedmar took part in a conspiracy against the constitution of the republic, and disseminated writings calculated to excite discord among their subjects; while Ferdinand protected the predatory Uskochs, who inhabited the mountains beyond Dalmatia. The overbearing power and the lofty tone of the cabinet of Madrid were insupportable to the dukes of Mantua and Savoy.

The Italian possessions of the Spaniards were separated from the hereditary dominions of the emperor, by the Venetian and Valtelline territories. The latter, a fertile and populous valley, which had been conquered by the confederated cantons, in their wars against the house of Sforza, would, if it could be obtained, serve to connect the divided possessions of the Austrian family. The inhabitants of the Valtelline, who were chiefly catholic, bore with impatience

the yoke of the cantons, the greater part of which were protestants; and Milan gave an indulgent ear to their complaints.

A. D. 1610. The good and great Henry the Fourth, king of France, whose excellent qualities were not appreciated in his own age, was assassinated, and his kingdom became again the prey of factions. His widow, Maria de' Medici, sacrificed the welfare of the state to her personal inclinations; and her son, Lewis the Thirteenth, who was a child at the time of his father's death, never became a man of independent character. The power of a state depends not so much on the numerical amount of its forces, as on the intelligence which animates their movements; and France, which in the latter part of the reign of Henry the Fourth seemed likely to produce an universal revolution in the condition of Europe, entirely lost its political importance.

Holland no longer sought foreign protection; and free nations are never more powerful than when they are obliged to depend exclusively upon their own resources for defence, and when the magnitude of the dangers which menace them compels the developement of their moral energy. The authority of the prince of Orange united the provinces in the common pursuit of the public good: to him, as Stadtholder, the appointment of the principal officers in the army and in the cities was confided, in order that the republican party might not be subjected by those to whom peace might be dearer than liberty: and he exercised the privilege of pardon, because every other object was to be sacrificed to the maintenance of the laws, and it was therefore necessary to give due weight to every consideration which could effect their execution. In the midst of its contest for freedom, the republic erected a mighty empire in the East; and its seamen took possession of the herring fishery, which produced, according to the computation of Raleigh, a return of 1,700,000 pounds sterling.

In this state of affairs, Clara Isabella Eugenia, the daughter of Philip the Second, who possessed the hereditary government of the Spanish Netherlands, conjointly

with Albert of Austria, son of Maximilian the Second, endeavored to put an end to the disturbances which had now subsisted during more than forty years. The Franciscan provincial, John Neyen, prepared the way for the twelve years' truce (A. D. 1609), which was concluded by the privy counsellor, Lewis von Verheyk, and ratified by Spinola. A. D. 1621.

From this time Holland was recognized as an independent state; and its minister, Van Aersens, was formally acknowledged as ambassador at Paris. Peace, however, proved more dangerous to the republic than war; not merely because its citizens lost their martial habits, but chiefly on account of the jealousy which began to arise between the stadtholder and the states-general. The latter, who were eight hundred in number, had been summoned for the last time, as the real representatives of the nation, to deliberate on the affair of the truce: their office and title was thenceforward borne by a committee of their number. They had, indeed, assembled less frequently from the time when Elizabeth had given them the assurance of her protection, on condition that the English ambassador should be entitled to assist at their consultations: and it was now pretended that a select proportion of the whole body, appointed in perpetuity, was best fitted to control the council of state, whose office was also perpetual, and which was accused of illegally favoring the ambition of the house of Orange. Oldenbarnevelt and Hugo Grotius refused to submit to the theological mandates of the synod of Dordrecht; but the execution of the former of these great men, and the imprisonment of the latter, by which it was intended to strike terror into the Anti-Orange party, had the contrary effect of fortifying their opposition.

Both the prince and the states-general were, however, duly sensible, that the interests of the republic were likely to be implicated in the determination of the disputed succession to the duchy of Juliers, which was also one of the causes of the thirty years' war.

SECTION II.

HEREDITARY SUCCESSION OF JULIERS.

The earls of Teisterbant had distinguished themselves by their contests with the Normans, as early as the ninth century; and their descendants founded two sovereignties in Westphalia, which were afterwards known under the names of the duchy of Cleves and the earldom of Mark. One part of these territories had been received from the emperor as pledges; another obtained from the archbishops of Cologne by conquest; and a third portion had voluntarily placed itself under the protection of these princes. The whole sovereignty had been finally united under one head, by the marriage of the earl of Mark with the heiress of Cleves. In the same manner, John of Cleves, at a later period, added the three neighboring states of Juliers, Berg, and Ravensberg, to the possessions of his family. The wealth of the house of Teisterbant, which had been accumulating for centuries, became at the death of the insane earl, John William, the object of numerous claims. A. D. 1609. It belonged to the elector of Saxony in right of an ancient reversion, in the event of the family becoming totally extinct: but the right to these territories, which had been united, as above mentioned, by marriages, was subject to other and very different questions; such as whether the daughter of the eldest sister, the wife of John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, or the second sister, the duchess of Pfalz-Neuburg, who was still living, was to be regarded as the nearest heiress? These countries deserve to be reckoned among the most fertile provinces of Germany: their value is enhanced by the industrious character of their population, and their situation at the entrance of the Netherlands renders them of great political importance.

The principal claimants could not adjust their pretensions, and appealed to arms: prince Wolfgang of Neuburg, in order to secure the assistance of the princess Clara Isabella, and of her husband the archduke Albert, became

a catholic (A. D. 1613), while the elector of Brandenburg declared himself of the reformed creed of the prince of Orange. A. D. 1614.

SECTION III.

ENGLAND.

England attained during this age to such a degree of power, as to be able to maintain the balance of power in important matters.

James Stuart, king of Scotland and son of the unfortunate Mary, succeeded on the death of Elizabeth to the crown of England; and thus united, under one head, two kingdoms whose rivalry had frequently prevented them from undertaking and sustaining, with undisturbed security, a distinguished part in the politics of Europe. James, however, was destitute of the vigor which had characterized Elizabeth; and could neither invest his person with dignity nor his commands with authority. His vanity and timidity, his busy researches into the dubious meanings of the prophecies, and his wretched taste, rendered him contemptible and ridiculous; while he openly displayed, in his public documents, the principles of despotism, which Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth had put in practice in silence and security. He was governed by the duke of Buckingham, a man who with great personal beauty combined all the vanities to which that quality can seduce, but who was destitute of its chief advantage, the art of pleasing. In his childish correspondence with the king, he signs himself "his majesty's most submissive dog, Steenie;" and the king calls himself "the good old dad and gossip."

This monarch was not of a character to exercise a powerful influence in Europe: and the people were too much occupied with maritime expeditions, to bestow much attention on the affairs of the continent. In the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, an East India Company had been established, which was regarded at Sumatra and Bantam as a deliverer; for in hatred of Philip, Europe and Asia

were of one accord: a new England had begun to be colonized beyond the Atlantic; and the icy ocean was explored, and Spitzbergen discovered and denominated Newfoundland. James, who was at an equal distance from the vices and virtues of Cæsar and of Trajan, was in the mean time employing himself in studying the book of Revelations, with speculative defences of the doctrine of passive obedience, and with the petulance of Buckingham.

SECTION IV.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Frederick of Simmern, elector palatine, was son-in-law of James the First of England; and his family, which was descended from Stephen, son of the elector Rupert, who had been king of the Germans, manifested an extraordinary zeal for the reformed creed. Palatine theologians were the authors of the catechism of Heidelberg; a book in which, notwithstanding that the controversial parts are too dogmatical and severe, the consoling spirit of Christianity is impressively displayed; and which became not a prescript of faith, but the manual of the greater part of the Calvinists of Germany. The sciences were no where cultivated with greater success than at Heidelberg: and the princes palatine were distinguished for their valor and genius in war.

Frederick was seduced by religious zeal, by love of glory, and by Elizabeth the king's daughter, to accept the crown of Bohemia. This kingdom, accustomed to a mild administration, was terrified at the prospect of the intolerant principles of government, which Ferdinand, even during the life of Matthias, had not indistinctly announced. The Bohemians vented their indignation on his counsellors, and offered the crown to the elector palatine, on the ground that the king had broken the compact, and had therefore no further claim to their allegiance. But Frederick, less through want of power than from a deficiency in the requisite energy and talent, was unable to keep the party which

existed in Bohemia and in the empire, united in one pursuit. His cousin Maximilian duke of Bavaria, a prince of great activity and firmly attached to the catholic religion, espoused the cause of the emperor, who was his most potent neighbor, in opposition to the interests of his own family. Frederick, defeated and helpless, abandoned the contest in despair, and forfeited both the crown and his electorate.

The failure of this enterprise produced the destruction of the remainder of the constitution of Bohemia, and of the protestant union in the empire which had neglected to support its own interests.

The fundamental laws of that kingdom were annihilated: a great number of noblemen were beheaded, and people of inferior condition executed on the wheel; upwards of thirty thousand families were compelled to emigrate, and property belonging to the protestants was confiscated, to the amount, as it was said, of 54,000,000 dollars. The emperor Ferdinand, strengthened by victory, and by the acquisition of treasure, now turned the arms of his experienced generals, Wallenstein, Tilly, and Spinola, against the protestants of the empire. The ecclesiastical electors were from their order attached to his cause: the most intelligent of that class, John Swikard of Cronberg, archbishop of Mayence, advised the adoption of moderate measures; but as his advice was not followed, he consulted the apparent interests of his archbishopric, and accommodated himself to the circumstances of the times. John George the First, elector of Saxony, whose predecessor had obtained by his victories the religious peace, was full of hatred against the Calvinists, jealous of the reputation of the count palatine, and confided implicitly in his court preacher, Hoë of Hoënegg, who was supposed to be in the pay of Ferdinand, and who gave free rein to his bitter zeal against the Calvinists and the Bohemian brethren. The elector, George William of Brandenburg, was misled in the same manner by his chief minister, the count of Schwartzenberg: he remained a Calvinist, but manifested no vigor, and expected to be able to secure himself by submission.

This weak monarch was also Duke of Prussia. Albert

Frederick, son of that grand-master of the Teutonic knights who had violated his oath to the order for the purpose of securing Prussia to his family, had been deprived of his understanding in early youth, by the pious folly of his preachers and counsellors, who had given him, with the intention of allaying his carnal appetites, a narcotic potion, which had destroyed his mental powers. He had left the duchy as a fief of Poland, to his cousin, the elector John Sigismund, father of George William. A. D. 1618. These territories, regarded as the dominion of an elector, formed a considerable state; and the cultivation of the demesne lands was very much improved: but the finances were so incapable of meeting any great emergency, that John Sigismund was obliged, during the contest for the succession of Juliers, to pledge his tolls on the river Elbe to the Danes, in order to raise two hundred thousand dollars: and though the number of regular troops, in the time of George William, never exceeded two thousand men, yet money was often wanting for the daily expenditure.

Brunswick and Hesse were enfeebled by the partition of their territories. Two princes were descended from duke Ernest, one of whom reigned at Luneburg and the other at Wolfenbüttel, with the title of duke; and the house of Luneburg had been again subdivided into inferior branches. But the house of Hesse suffered still more severely, from the hatred which, inflamed by religious animosity and political jealousy, had become habitual between the landgraves of Darmstadt and Cassel; the former of whom continued to profess the Lutheran faith, while the latter adopted the system of the Calvinists: and the inheritance of the landgrave of Marburg furnished them with an especial occasion of dispute. The mutual exasperation of the two families was never more keen than under Maurice, who reigned at Cassel, and who was not an ignorant prince, although he was so little capable of elevating his views above the character of his age, that he took a personal share in the prevalent controversies, and endeavored to carry Calvin's ideas into execution by force.

The Lutherans delighted themselves with manifesting

how many particulars there were in which the Calvinists accorded with the Turks; and how the latter were nevertheless better than the former: while the Calvinists were of the opinion, "that when fire and water should unite without the one being dried up, or the other extinguished, then, and not till then, an union with the Lutherans might be supposed possible." With these sentiments, each party carried on its part in the contest separately; and the consequence was, that the Catholics easily got the better of both.

At this period the court of France was too much occupied with the party disputes by which it was agitated, to interest itself in the affairs of Europe. Holland was also divided by faction; and the great stadtholder, prince Maurice, died of grief for the loss of Breda. King James, instead of affording his son-in-law any assistance, was occupied with the visionary idea of obtaining in infanta for his son: and Charles was educated in despotic principles, and devoted to Buckingham. Christian the Fourth, king of Denmark, when he saw Germany almost reduced to subjection, perceived the dangers to which the neighboring states were likely to be exposed; and possessing the physical strength of the old northern heroes, as well as their activity and love of glory, took arms in favor of the Protestants: but his deficiencies in arrangement and in the science of war were so great and evident, that he was quickly convinced of his own impotence. Sigismund, king of Poland, who had sacrificed the kingdom of Sweden to his devotion to the mass, was transported with senseless exultation at the misfortunes of the German Protestants.

SECTION V.

MANTUA.

The house of Gonzaga, which had governed Mantua and Montserrat, became extinct in Italy; and Charles duke of Nevers and Rethel, a descendant of a brother of the first duke, survived alone in France: but the Spaniards,

notwithstanding his claim, took possession of the country; and the unfortunate Mantua, the seat of the fine arts and of peaceable voluptuousness, was ravaged with fire and sword by the barbarous Carlo Malatesta, who respected neither right nor station.

But Cardinal Richelieu, who had now overcome the rivals of his power in the ministry of France, perceived the importance of having a princely family in Lombardy in the interest of his country; and on this account he maintained the title of the duke of Nevers so effectually, that the Spaniards were obliged to consent to a treaty of peace at Cherasco, by which Charles became duke of Mantua, and obtained a part of Montserrat (A. D. 1631); while the remainder of the latter country was added to the dominions of duke Victor Amadeus the First, of Savoy.

Richelieu manifested a just sense of the important advantages that would accrue to the house of Habsburg by the proposed appropriation of the Valtelline territory, which would give continuity to their German and Italian dominions. The Catholics of that district had murdered all the Protestants in one day (A. D. 1620); and in order to free themselves from the authority of the confederates, who were mostly heretics, had applied for protection to the Spanish government at Milan; which, by means of the clergy, had instigated their previous measures: while the Swiss, who should have assisted the confederates, were divided among themselves by religious differences and by Spanish pensions. But even this state of perplexity assisted the projects of Richelieu.

SECTION VI.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU.

Richelieu found France divided between the power of the king and that of the nobles; provincial governors in possession of legal authority; parliaments in a state of formidable opposition to the court; foreign connections neglected; the treasury empty; the military department in

a state of the utmost disorder; the government conducted upon no fixed principles, and the throne destitute of dignity. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, Richelieu had the boldness to renew the designs of Henry the Great, for the diminution of the power of the house of Habsburg which was now more than ever preponderant.

This project was facilitated by the manner in which Ferdinand abused his good fortune. A. D. 1629. At the time when the edict of restitution obliged the Protestant states to restore all the ecclesiastical domains which had been confiscated during the preceding seventy-four years, the insolent haughtiness and the exactions of the soldiery had offended even the Catholics; and Bavaria herself began to perceive, that as one state after another became subjected until no effectual power of opposition should remain, the value of her own alliance must sink proportionally in the estimation of the conqueror.

Ferdinand, throwing aside all moderation, while his troops were giving alarm to the frontiers of Switzerland, proposed to the diet of Ratisbon to insist upon the validity of the imperial claims on the united provinces of the Netherlands: he opposed all participation of the French in the affairs of Italy; declared himself the enemy of Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, whose cousins, the dukes of Mecklenburg, had been outlawed and banished without even the form of a trial; and endeavored to introduce a standing army, which should be formed and maintained at the expense of the empire, but should remain at his disposal. At the same time, without the advice or consent of the states, he gave the duchy of Mecklenburg, to his general Wallenstein; and utterly disregarded the claims of the ancient ducal family of that country, as well as those of the electors of Brandenburg.

Twenty millions were in a few years extorted from Brandenburg, ten from Pomerania, and seven from Hesse; and the ministers of the emperor, arrayed in costly robes, seemed to design by their magnificent appearance to insult the depressed condition of the impoverished princes. The party of the opposition was disarmed, and Wallenstein was able to pronounce his own mandates and the com-

mands of the court, as public laws: his friend Eggenberg, the chief minister of the emperor, was commonly believed to be designed as the future duke of Wirtemberg, and a prince of Lorraine as the duke of Saxony; while the present elector, John George, was now treated with indifference. Whether the habit of independence had rendered the exalted power of the emperor intolerable to the states, or whether Ferdinand really designed to deter them from future opposition by a tyrannical display of his authority, it is certain that a general feeling of subjection under a heavy yoke was prevalent in the empire.

SECTION VII.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, was now in his thirty-sixth year: his father had left him a well-confirmed authority, though without treasure: the nobles who might have endangered his power had been humbled in the preceding revolutions, and there was nothing to fear from Russia, Poland, or Denmark. The czar, Michael Romanoff, purchased peace from the young king, at the expense of a part of Livonia; and the king of Denmark renounced the claim which the house of Oldenburg had hitherto maintained, to reign over the Swedes against their will. The talents and energy of Gustavus obliged Sigismund king of Poland, either entirely to abandon his long cherished hope of restoration to the throne of Sweden, or at least to defer his expectations to a more remote era. The interest which Gustavus took in the fate of the house of Mecklenburg, accustomed the oppressed and discontented portion of the empire to look upon him as their protector.

Germany appeared, in reality, to be the country in which he might seek for power and opulence with the greatest prospect of success: he knew that, though the royal power was circumscribed in Sweden by definite laws, yet the devotion of nations to extraordinary men is not to

be confined by rules; and he undertook to render his people a nation of heroes.

His method of conducting war was of his own invention, and founded upon excellent principles: he was well acquainted with the experience and the maxims of antiquity; but his intelligent mind was able to modify them according to the nature of the weapons and other circumstances of modern times: he felt the inconveniences of the heavy infantry; and as he placed more reliance on the execution of manœuvres than on physical strength, he disposed that species of force in smaller divisions, and mixed them in platoons among the cavalry. Together with the lofty character of his genius, which manifested itself in the greatness of his plans, he combined the power of attention to minute details in the organization of his army, and a calm and penetrating insight into circumstances of the greatest intricacy: he also knew how to inflame his troops with religious ardor.

His habits were of the most simple kind: though a man of huge stature, he shared in all the bodily fatigues of his soldiers; though the boldness of his enterprises astonished the world, he was personally mild, beneficent, susceptible of friendship and love, eloquent, popular, and full of reliance on Providence: the principal traits of his character were magnanimity and gentleness.

Gustavus, by his sudden and unexpected appearance in the empire, by his irresistible progress, and finally, by the victory of Leipsic, revived the confidence of the protestant princes in their own power. With their assistance he defeated the best generals of the emperor; over-ran the whole of Lower Germany, to the Rhine and the Danube; and at length, in the battle of Lutzen (A. D. 1632), found a victorious death, which the greatest commanders would prefer to the longest life.

The commerce of Mecklenburg, and the support which the emperor afforded to the king of Poland, would have sufficed to justify this interference of Gustavus: but both the king of Sweden and the court of France had naturally and justly been alarmed at the union of the whole power of Germany, in the hand of a ruler who assumed the tone

of an universal sovereign: and the efficacy of a good military system, directed by the energetic genius of a single leader, was never more eminently displayed than on this occasion.

A. D. 1632. Gustavus Adolphus had educated commanders, who, subsequent to his death, and to the separate peace concluded by the elector of Saxony (A. D. 1635), continued for sixteen years to maintain the reputation of the Swedish arms and the cause which they had adopted, until the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia. Banier resembled the late king in penetration, as well as in his countenance; he knew as well how to conquer, as after a defeat to assume such a posture as though he had not been beaten; and had the art to compel the confederated princes to continue on the side of the Swedes, or at least not to take part against them. They were all equal to Torstenson as generals; but the latter was superior to most of them in private virtues.

SECTION VIII.

RICHELIEU.

A. D. 1634. When the affairs of Sweden, after the defeat at Nördlingen, appeared to have fallen into the utmost peril, Richelieu openly declared his designs. The cardinal, who had the perseverance of an old Roman, and whose resolutions were as circumspect and mature as those of a senator of Venice, was the all-powerful minister of Lewis the Thirteenth, who stood greatly in need of such a statesman. He entertained and carried into effect the plan of rendering France the most powerful state in Europe. Though the mother and the brother of his master were the chief movers of many conspiracies against his authority and his life; while the king, who was in all respects a weak man, regarded him rather with fear than affection; though the French army was far inferior to the veteran troops of the emperor, and the finances in the utmost disorder; though the nation was ignorant of his merit, and the nobles

continually called his attention from the most important affairs of state by their petty court cabals, yet Richelieu had in great measure contributed to fix the determination of the king of Sweden; he carried into execution the designs of the latter (which were left at his death in a half complete state) and disappointed the reviving hopes of the enemies of France.

Sweden possessed great men, who had only one deficiency, which the cardinal had it in his power to supply: namely, the resources of a powerful state.

A. D. 1635. In the year after the battle of Nördlingen, the troops of France simultaneously attacked the Austrian monarchy at every accessible point, in order to prevent the forces of the latter from acting with decisive effect in any quarter. They commenced operations in the Valtelline, in order that it might be more difficult to recruit the imperial armies out of Italy, and that the latter country might be secured from any attempts on the part of the Germans; while they might give occupation, in Flanders, to the Spaniards, and in the empire, relieve the Swedes. A body of twenty thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry acted against Flanders; three corps, each consisting of ten thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, covered the frontiers on the side of the Netherlands, Lorraine, and Burgundy; and other armies were employed in the empire and in Italy. At the period when Richelieu entered upon his administration, France was in possession of no ships of war; yet within ten years, a French naval force burned and destroyed a whole Spanish fleet. The United Provinces received an annual subsidy of 1,200,000 livres; Sweden and Savoy, each 1,000,000; and several princes of the empire, various sums. The frontiers were fortified; and the annual expenses of the war amounted to 60,000,000, although France was not particularly oppressed with new taxes. In the year in which the cardinal died, the crown estates produced 22,500,000; the forests and waters, 1,600,000; casual sources of revenue (including a loan of 8,000,000), 37,000,000; the greater and lesser taille, the voluntary contributions of the clergy, and the territories of the states. 61,600,000; the farmed imposts amounted

not to more than 26,000,000: and though the sum total scarcely exceeded 125,000,000, 10,000,000 remained in the treasury after all the demands upon it were satisfied. Five millions three hundred thousand were expended in the maintenance of foreign relations; 3,490,000 for secret services, and 2,785,000 for pensions: the minister of state had at his disposal 2,272,000; the expenses of the war by land amounted to 58,565,000; and those of the navy, to 6,700,000; the permanent interest of the debt demanded 1,455,756; secret affairs in the interior, 2,600,000; and extraordinary disbursements were estimated at 2,000,000.

Richelieu had found France in a state of commotion, with an exhausted treasury, and destitute of political influence; he left it, (A. D. 1642), after seven years of war, far more opulent than it had been during the seventeen years of peace which elapsed between the administration of Sully and his own; and with an external influence which was decisively displayed in the negociations for the peace of Westphalia. The duke of Mantua was indebted to him for his territory; the Grisons for the most beautiful district of their dominions, and the Protestant party in Germany for its consistency: he supplied Sweden with the means of carrying on a long, glorious, and advantageous war; and laid the foundation of the power of Lewis the Fourteenth.

Upper Burgundy still belonged to Spain, and Alsace to Austria. Ancient treaties of neutrality, concluded under the mediation of the Swiss, guaranteed Upper Burgundy, and the French frontiers on that side. It was of the utmost importance to the king of Spain to continue in peaceable possession of the latter country; as his connection with the Netherlands was by that way secured: whenever he was on friendly terms with Savoy or Switzerland, his troops had a convenient road through this country from Italy, toward the Austrian dominions of Alsace, into the territories chiefly of ecclesiastical princes, and into Lorraine; through which they arrived in the Belgian districts. If the plan respecting the Valtelline had entirely succeeded, the dominions of the house of Habsburg would have surrounded

and came in contact with all those European states which were most important from their situation, populousness, and fertility, from Sicily to Holland and Poland. Henry the Fourth, in order to break this chain, had exchanged Bresse, Bügey, and Gex, for Saluzzo, at the peace of Lyons; and Richelieu, in the same spirit, took advantage of the discontent of the prince of Mumpelgard, who had been offended by the haughty conduct of Spain, to draw him over to the French interest. The cardinal alleged several instances in which the compact relating to the neutrality had been infringed, for the purpose of preventing its renewal: and the Swiss were at last obliged to leave this frontier to its fate. As soon as the connection was thus interrupted, the family of Habsburg experienced the utmost difficulty in the defence of its widely extended frontiers; and the French entered Upper Burgundy, Alsace, and the contiguous territories of Austria, without much difficulty. Richelieu thus prepared the way for the incorporation of the two first; just as Henry the Second had formerly facilitated the conquest of Lorraine, by taking possession of the three bishoprics.

Richelieu concluded a treaty with Holland for the partition of the Spanish Netherlands; where Frederick-Henry, the old prince of Orange, maintained the fame of his brother's arms. But the republic was aware that France was become a more formidable neighbor than Spain: and Frederick-Henry prosecuted the war without vigor, and thus acquired a reputation for policy equal to his former fame as a soldier.

The allies of Richelieu frequently failed to give him all the support in their power, and sometimes abandoned him entirely: he would not, however, make peace at their expense; but perceiving how important their very existence was to the authority of his court, seemed to excuse their conduct on account of the difficulties of their situation.

A. D. 1642. The cardinal died in the midst of the war, which he was carrying on against the emperor and the king of Spain. The exhausted empire stood at this time greatly in need of peace; but the weakness of the minority of Lewis the Fourteenth seemed to hold out a prospect

of concluding it at a later period, with less disadvantage to Austria. It was well known that the Swedes would be unable to continue the war without powerful support; and negociations were commenced, but were prosecuted with extreme slowness: the loss of a province would have been less mischievous than the influence which France thus acquired in the affairs of the empire.

But Condé and Turenne, heroes like those of antiquity, began to announce their illustrious career: the former in the plains of Rocroy (A. D. 1643), gave a deadly blow to the Spanish infantry; and all the art of Mercy was required to withstand, in the Black Forest, the arms of Turenne, to whom these campaigns served as a school in the art of war. The victorious army of duke Bernhard of Weimar, was attached to the interest of the French, through the influence of general Von Erlach. The Swiss contributed more to the conclusion of peace by making an irruption into Bohemia, and obtaining possession of a part of Prague, than the most subtle negociations could have done: and the thirty years' war thus ended where it had begun. The emperor was convinced that nothing was to be gained by prosecuting it further; the king of Spain had forfeited Portugal, and was in danger of losing Naples. The count d'Avaux, who was more earnestly bent upon the conclusion of peace than any other individual in the French ministry at Münster, availed himself of these circumstances: his more penetrating colleague Abel Servien, had less confidence in the good faith of his opponents, and his views were not so disinterested.

Cardinal Mazarin now reigned in France; for Lewis the Fourteenth was only in his tenth year, and the queen-mother Anna, daughter of Philip the Third, adopted the policy of the minister. Richelieu had prepared the way for great occurrences, which now seemed to follow as of their own accord; and their execution was facilitated by the more pliant moderation of Mazarin, whose character had less of over-awing greatness, and who was therefore less dreaded by the rest of Europe. Both these ministers were illustrious men, though in different ways.

SECTION IX.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

A. D. 1648. Peace was concluded in the Westphalian towns of Münster and Osnaburg, under the mediation of the pope and the Venetians, between the emperor Ferdinand the Third, Philip the Third, king of Spain, and the princes of the empire who belonged to their party, on one side; and Lewis the Fourteenth, Christina, queen of Sweden, the states-general of the United Provinces, and those princes of the empire, mostly protestants, who were in alliance with the French and Swedes, on the other. Only France and Spain now remained at war. This peace is the foundation of the whole modern system of European politics, of all modern treaties, of what is called the freedom of Germany, and of a sort of balance of power among all the countries of western Europe.

The arrangements of this treaty gave a more decided form to the ecclesiastical and temporal polity of the empire; secured the advantages obtained in the late contest by France and Sweden; ordained some new relations between the different powers, and altered the situation of the great families of Germany. It will be useful, on this occasion, to take a view of different parts of the constitution of the empire.

The emperors invest the ecclesiastical princes of the empire, by means of the sceptre, with their feudal temporalities, but not until the pope has confirmed their election: and these princes, like the emperor himself, must observe the conditions of a stipulation, into which, as is usual in elective states, they are obliged to enter. The pope disposes of all dignities in Rome, or within two days' journey from that city, and of all such as become vacant by deposition, transfer, renunciation, or the invalidation of irregular elections, or have been left by deceased cardinals and other persons, who have held any office or dignity about the person of his holiness; as well as of all benefices of the second class, which fall vacant in the *odd* months, as Jan-

uary, March, May, &c. Letters of grace, rescripts, provisions, and coadjutories, are either abuses, or at least extraordinary methods of influencing the appointments to ecclesiastical dignities: but these reservations of the holy chair have been continually diminishing ever since the reformation.

In protestant countries, the ecclesiastical institutions depend entirely on the supreme temporal power: in these respects the princes of the several states have assumed the authority which was exercised in primitive times by the communities, and in the middle ages by the pope. In consequence of this arrangement, every change of creed which took place among the princes of the empire, between the religious pacification and the treaty of Westphalia, was attended with the most vexatious consequences to their subjects: but at the latter period it was enacted, that the evangelical party or Lutherans, and the reformed or Calvinists, should enjoy in the empire absolute toleration and the free exercise of their religious rites; and that the latter should be independent of the opinions of the prince, and should remain as they were practised by the majority of the inhabitants in each country, on the first of January of the Normal year, or 1624. It remains, however, a question of jurisprudence, whether this Norma is binding between Lutherans and Calvinists inhabiting the same country, when that country has not been expressly named; and whether its authority extends to the Palatinate. When any person becomes a protestant, who is an inhabitant of a country which had not adopted that creed before the year 1624, he is allowed five years to sell or let his landed property; at the expiration of which period the sovereign can compel him to quit his territory. When a protestant prince turns catholic, that circumstance has no influence on the situation of his subjects, with regard to their religious establishments: but the catholic jurists are of opinion, that he may in this case grant a *simultaneum* to his new companions in religious belief. The protestants do not acknowledge a prince, under these circumstances, to possess his former power in ecclesiastical affairs, because he held *that* authority only as the chief of their religious commu-

nity: and on the other hand, a protestant prince does not possess the same authority over the catholic part of his subjects, as in the churches of his own creed.

These regulations are not to be regarded as civil, but as political laws, guaranteed in the peace of the empire; the spirit and form of which was discussed by the two religious parties, in that character, not man to man, but rank to rank. Such affairs belong neither to the imperial chamber, nor to the council of the imperial court, both of which are tribunals of justice; but to the national representation, or imperial diet. It would have been diametrically opposite to the spirit in which the peace was concluded, which was intended to place both parties in an equality of rights, to attempt to subject the ecclesiastical affairs of the protestants to lay tribunals; because the authority of these courts in such affairs is denied in the catholic church.

The treaty declared, that all grievances should be removed within three years; in default of which the suffering party should recur for assistance to France, Sweden, and the other parties to the contract of peace. But, as it was not possible to define accurately which was the suffering party over the whole empire, this notable clause produced no effect.

These arrangements are contained in the treaty of peace, concluded with the Swedes at Osnaburg: but Lewis the Fourteenth, at Münster, also guaranteed to the German protestants the exercise of the same faith which he persecuted in France with the utmost cruelty.

All the states of the empire were confirmed in their common and peculiar rights and usages: the emperor engages to enact or to expound no law; to impose no tax; to carry on no war; to erect no fortification; and to conclude no alliance or treaty of peace, without their consent. The states are permitted to enter at pleasure into connections with each other, or with foreign powers, provided they do nothing hostile to the emperor and empire, prejudicial to the peace of the country, or contrary to their feudal oaths. Diets are to be held frequently; the imperial compact taken at the time of election; the order of execution, and the police and justice of the empire, are to be reformed

and regulated. Commerce is to be protected, and no new tolls are to be imposed.

As the constitution of the aulic council had fallen into confusion, in consequence of the religious differences, as well as of the abuses of the supremacy and power of the states, a plan for an improvement in its order had been sketched previously to the war. Some things relating to this new arrangement were determined by the treaty of peace; but it was never entirely accepted or rejected. This highest tribunal of the empire has no distinctly prescribed form of procedure: a judge, chosen from among the counts or lords, is its chief; and he is assisted by presidents and assessors, a number of writers and readers, and a crowd of procurators and agents. The affairs of this tribunal are introduced in audiences, and transacted in senates; which consist of the assessors, who are appointed and maintained by the states of the empire: their number ought to be fifty; twenty-four of whom are elected by the states of the protestant party, and an equal number by those of the catholics, and two are nominated by the emperor; but it was found impossible to provide for the remuneration of so great a number: the income of the aulic demesne never exceeded 70,000 dollars; nor did the assessors ever exceed the half of the number prescribed. In consequence of these deficiencies, together with the disuse of any arrangement in the order of the processes, the decline of the visitations, and the complexity arising from every change in the affairs of Europe and of the empire, as well with regard to the processes as to the party spirit of the members of the court; the confusion, and the arrear of untransacted business, is augmented almost to infinity. Four presidents were ordained; but only two, (both of whom as well as the judge were appointed by the emperor,) could be maintained. This tribunal is influential not merely by its decisions: the resolutions of the senate, which by practice become precedents, impart to it in effect a share of the legislative power; and the *dubia* which it lays before the diet, are similar to motions, which are seldom infringed upon.

By this treaty, the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and

Verdun, which had been so long ago acquired, together with Moyenvic, were formally confirmed to France, but with the reservation of the metropolitan rights of Treves: Austria abandoned the town of Breisach, the landgraviate of Alsace, and the imperial jurisdiction of the ten cities; and the king soon began to arrogate more than had been transferred to him: the ten imperial cities came to be treated as municipal towns, and the nobles, who possessed estates in Alsace, as French vassals; and both were obliged by degrees to submit. Even the imperial union of Strasburg, including the bishopric and city and the monasteries of Marbach and Ludern, soon existed only in name and in the claim to a few estates lying on the hither side of the Rhine.

The dominions of the dukes of Pomerania Stettin, the city of Wismar in the territory of Mecklenburg, and the confiscated ecclesiastical principalities of Bremen and Verdun, were the indemnification of Sweden. Pomerania, in pursuance of ancient compacts of inheritance, ought to have reverted to Brandenburg; and Frederick-William received as an indemnity for that part which had been confirmed to Sweden, the secularized archbishopric of Magdeburg, and the confiscated bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin.

This prince, the successor of a weak and betrayed father, in a few years laid the foundation of the greatness of Prussia. The possession of Pomerania, a country abounding in luxuriant pastures, where the Oder was to be the boundary between the Swedes and Prussians, and which afforded an important commercial road for the Polish and Silesian products, laid Germany and Poland open to the Swedes. The elector, on the other hand, acquired a territory far more fertile than his former dominions; while Minden put him in possession of a country much nearer to the hereditary dominions of Juliers, to which he had pretensions.

Wismar, a city which was formerly an important member of the Hanseatic league, and which, together with Rostock, was the best town in the dominions of Mecklenburg, afforded the Swedes a good harbor: and the dukes were

remunerated for this sacrifice with the secularized bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzeburg, and the benefices of Mirow and Nemerow, belonging to the order of St. John. Bremen commanded the mouth of the Weser, and Verden gave Sweden an influence in the circle of Westphalia, which, together with the other acquisitions of that crown, was sufficient to have laid the foundation of a permanent interest in Germany.

In this treaty the Swiss confederacy also was declared to be perfectly independent of the German empire, and exempt from its tribunals. This declaration, which was obtained by John Rudolf Wetstein, burgomaster of Basel, was the joint effect of the intercession of the French, and of the desire which the emperor had to procure a good understanding with the Swiss.

With regard to Italy, the peace of Cherasco was confirmed.

Holland, which, as soon as it was acknowledged by Spain as an independent republic, had no farther motive for continuing the war, made a separate peace, in which France, its ally, took no part. The old prince Frederick-Henry, who was now dead, had pointed out to the states how important it was, for the preservation of their freedom, that their enfeebled neighbors, the Spaniards, should be left in possession of their remaining dominions in the Netherlands. The party of the opposition also wished for an opportunity of removing the army from under the disposal of the ambitious stadtholder, William the Second.

The independence of Holland and its East Indian conquests, was acknowledged and confirmed by Spain: the two countries agreed mutually to forbear from navigating near each other's coasts; as the Dutch wished to exclude all competitors from the Spice Islands, and the Spaniards to shut up the country in which her gold-mines are situated, with the most jealous care. The European ports of both countries were to be open to each; and neither was to impose heavier duties on the other, than those which were levied from their own subjects.

The spirit of all the commercial treaties of the Spaniards, consists in preserving to themselves a monopoly of

the commerce with their transmarine dominions, and in availing themselves of the industry of other European nations: they did not even seek those commodities in the countries where they are manufactured; but encouraged the foreigners who brought them to their coasts. The only piece of good policy which they adopted in this respect consisted in bestowing equal privileges on the merchants of different nations, in order that they might profit by the competition: and on this principle the Hanseatic towns soon obtained the same facilities as the Dutch.

The Spaniards abandoned Maestricht, which had been taken by Frederick-Henry, to the Dutch, on condition that the prince-bishop of Liege should retain his prerogatives in the internal administration of the city. They also gave up Bois-le-duc, Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, Gravelines, and Hulst; and afterwards Dalem, Valkenberg, and the country of Rolduc: and commissioners were appointed to decide all doubtful points, and to regulate the tolls.

Holland, after a severe struggle of eighty years, thus obtained from its ancient enemy the prize of its perseverance; and acquired his esteem and confidence, as well as the Dutch Netherlands: and from that period the court of Brussels depended upon the Hague for the maintenance of its power.

John-George, elector of Saxony, who was reigning at the commencement of the thirty years' war, and who survived its conclusion, had received the margraviate of Lausitz as an hereditary pledge, on condition of assisting the emperor in the reduction of the protestants of Bohemia, and of accommodating himself as far as possible to the wishes of the imperial court. The states of the Lausitz had formerly devoted themselves, with the consent of Lewis of Bavaria, elector of Brandenburgh, to the emperor Charles the Fourth, king of Bohemia; and Ferdinand the Second now transferred their country to the dominion of Saxony.

The misfortunes of the elector Palatine and the restless ambition of Maximilian of Bavaria, had the following termination: All the states of the empire which had suffered in consequence of the disputes concerning Bohemia, or

from the thirty years' war, were reinstated in their properties and rights; except that the duke of Bavaria retained that rank in the college of electors which had formerly belonged to the elector Palatine, together with the Upper Palatinate and its capital, Amberg: in return for which he remitted a demand on the emperor of thirteen millions, and the claims of Bavaria to the country of Upper Austria. On the other hand, Charles-Lewis, son of the unfortunate elector and king Frederick, who died in grief and poverty, and the place of whose burial is not even known, was reinstated in the Palatinate, and an eighth place was created for him in the electoral college: it was also settled, that in the event of the house of Bavaria becoming extinct, the elector Palatine should resume the fifth seat in that college, together with the Upper Palatinate; and should give a compensation to the allodial heirs of Bavaria. The other expelled branches of the Palatine family, were in like manner restored to their rights, with the exception of certain fiefs, which remained in the possession of those on whom they had been bestowed, during the war, by the existing masters of the Palatinate.

The dukes of Wurtemberg were restored in this manner: and the county of Mumpelgard retained the fiefs which it possessed in Alsace, as well as Clairval and Passavant, in Upper Burgundy.

The margraves of Baden, at Hochberg, were also included in the amnesty; and every thing contained in the edict of restitution which had reference to these princes, as indeed the whole of that act, was annihilated by the present peace.

The duke of Croi was likewise included in the peace, and his dependence on France was without prejudice to his interests.

For the rest, those who had suffered any loss previous to their adoption of the party of France or Sweden, received no indemnification; while such nobles as had suffered losses after their declaration in favor of one or other of those crowns, received indemnities. On this principle the emperor was willing to do justice to his protestant subjects in Bohemia and his hereditary dominions; but what

they had lost was regarded as having been forfeited by the laws of war.

The peace of Westphalia indemnified the landgrave of Hesse Cassel with the secularized abbacy of Hersfeld, the possession of the greater part of the Westphalian county of Schaumburg, and the acknowledgment of feudal superiority over the smaller portion, which was bestowed on the brother-in-law of the last count and noble lord of Lippe. The feudal superiority of the county of Waldeck, a district advantageously situated, fertile, and abounding in mineral riches, was also confirmed and guaranteed to the landgraves; and the right of primogeniture was confirmed in both the families of Hesse. All these advantages were obtained by the talents and energy of Amelia of Hanau, widow of William the Sixth, for a family which was destitute of a ruling head (William the Seventh being in his minority), which was oppressed by its relatives, betrayed by its generals, and in the most imminent peril of utter ruin.

The new masters of the secularized ecclesiastical principalities took their seats on the bench of the temporal princes. Protestant bishops and prelates were elected at Lubeck, and alternately at Osnaburg, at Quedlinburg, Hervorden, Gernrode, and Gandersheim. In consideration that the family of Holstein had delayed the secularization of Lubeck, the chapter determined to elect six bishops in succession from that family; and the sixth procured his son to be named coadjutor. It was resolved that whenever the turn should come to the protestants at Osnaburg, the bishop should be elected from the Hanoverian family of Brunswick.

The whole treaty, although concluded in two places, was declared to be one instrument, one fundamental law of the German empire, and a pragmatic sanction: and was guaranteed by France and Sweden. The constitutions of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, thus acquired a simultaneous recognition and guarantee.

SECTION X.

SPAIN.

The war continued eleven years longer between France and Spain; but was feebly prosecuted, even on the part of the former. During the minority of Lewis the Fourteenth, disorders arose which reduced even Condé, and shortly afterwards Turenne, to go over to the side of the Spaniards. But the twofold despotism under which Spain suffered, had enfeebled that kingdom to such a degree, as to render it incapable of taking advantage of favorable occurrences.

Cardinal Mazarin, in person, at length concluded a treaty in the Isle of Pheasants, with Don Lewis de Haro, Spanish minister of state; which was denominated, from the neighboring mountains, the peace of the Pyrenees. Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip the Fourth, married the young king of France (A. D. 1659), who renounced all the hereditary pretensions arising from this alliance: the county of Rousillon was transferred to him; and the Pyrenees, as they ought naturally to be, rendered the boundary of the two monarchies: on the side of Flanders, the county of Artois was united to France, and the trade of the latter country with Spain placed on the footing of the most favored nations.

Don Lewis, who concluded this treaty, had succeeded to the power and office of the count duke de Olivarez, who had acquired the favor of Philip the Fourth by methods of every description, not excepting the most ignoble, and afterwards kept him long in a state of subjection; for which no political good fortune indemnified the king. Haro was ignorant and irresolute; and full of the idea that the power of his master, which he had appropriated to himself, was superior to that of all other princes and states. For this reason, he took no pains to infuse new life into the monarchy: on the contrary, the military department was neglected, and the sums designed for that service dissipated on other objects; the energy of the generals was held in subjection by slavish fear, and public spirit was entirely extinct.

SECTION XI.

PORTUGAL.

During this war, the court of Spain had forfeited the kingdom of Portugal. The Portuguese had reason to detest the foreign masters to whom they owed the loss of the East Indies, and who contributed by their haughtiness and oppressions at Lisbon, to maintain the national antipathy. The Spanish court had permitted the pope to practise an oppressive despotism over Portugal in matters relating to the constitution. The court chamber was subjected to the bann, because it had imposed taxes according to the laws, upon the estates of the ecclesiastics. The finances were exhausted on objects foreign to the interests of the nation, while their celebrated navy was suffered to fall into decay.

A. D. 1640. Under these circumstances, Don John duke of Braganza, overturned the Spanish dynasty in Portugal, almost without the shedding of blood, by the mere declaration that he was the legitimate king. He was a ruler of moderate abilities, and his character by no means enterprising: the power of Spain was in the vicinity, and Braganza had scarcely any external assistance. The quarrel, for it hardly deserved to be called a war, continued twenty-eight years; and Braganza maintained possession of the throne by the will of the people. The states of the kingdom acknowledged Don John the Fourth: they renewed the fundamental laws of Lamego; and declared that if the king should die without heirs, and should survive his brother, his nephew should inherit the sovereignty.

The jesuits acquired so much influence over John the Fourth and his queen, Louisa Gusman, of the family of Medina Sidonia, that they might more properly be said to reign in Portugal; while other individuals of their order exerted its credit and influence in support of the court of Spain. The king endeavored to gain over the maritime powers of Europe for the support of his authority: he promised a port of Brazil to the Dutch; he allowed a free trade to the English, not only in Portugal but in her Afri-

can dominions (A. D. 1641); and promised to treat the French in the same manner as the most friendly powers. These treaties appeared to be equally favorable to all the maritime powers; but their solid advantages were the prize of the most industrious.

SECTION XII.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The kingdom of Great Britain was involved in a civil war, which was rather the effect of the natural course of affairs than of the great abuses of royal power, or of any systematic plan pursued by the opposition. After the destruction of the higher class of the nobility and of the property of the citizens which took place during the civil wars, and the consequent immoderate elevation of the power of the crown, the prosperous age of Elizabeth conferred extraordinary opulence on the commons, who, during the reigns of James and Charles, acquired the courage to employ it for their own benefit.

Charles perhaps imagined that he was only exercising his hereditary powers, of which his pedantic father had given him ideas altogether erroneous. He replied to representations with severity; and expected to be able to give a degree of authority to his proclamations, which the victors of Agincourt and Cressy would scarcely have ventured to demand. At the same time he irritated cardinal Richelieu by his feeble support of the French Huguenots, and Austria by words, though not by actions, in favor of his brother-in-law the elector palatine. He offended the English by his predilection for the Roman catholic faith; and the favored missionaries of that church forgot the maxims of prudence: one of their number proved that the pope was *legitimate* lord of England and Ireland; another, that unless the Irish catholics were indulged with the unrestrained possession of their religion, they had a right to elect another king; and the nuncio of the queen, who was a French princess, displayed his influence with a splendor which was odious in the eyes of the people.

Queen Elizabeth, without regard to the resources of her successors, had alienated many of the crown estates: James was prodigal towards his favourites; and Charles fell into difficulties in consequence of the disordered state of his financial affairs, and endeavored to obtain money by imposing taxes without the consent of the parliament. He manifested, on all occasions, a perseverance which was utterly destitute of foundation in system and in knowledge of men; and therefore often showed that timidity and irresolution, on the appearance of opposition, which are usually manifested in the efforts of a man of clouded understanding. Charles was magnanimous, amiable, and learned; but deficient in steadfast exertion, in the gift of a sound judgment, and in the dignity and vigor necessary to the situation in which he stood.

Samuel Vassall, who afterwards founded the town of Boston in New England, was the first member of parliament who opposed the illegal levy of a tax on the importation of every pound or cask of certain commodities. The king exacted the customs, during fifteen years, without authority from the parliament; an arbitrary tax was levied on ships (A. D. 1640); many feudal privileges and ancient abuses were exercised with increased severity; contributions and loans, called voluntary, were exacted by force; soccages were arbitrarily demanded, and distributed with partiality; the rights of pre-emption and purveyance were exercised in an offensive manner; personal freedom, or the people's privilege of being tried by their equals, and of remaining unmolested in their own houses, was infringed in various modes; the forms of law were disregarded by the court of star-chamber; martial law was exercised in time of peace; Englishmen were subjected to long and extremely injurious imprisonments, and oppressed with exorbitant fines; and, to crown the whole, their rights and complaints were treated with neglect, and even contempt.

From the discussions to which these grievances gave rise, arose others relating to the nature and origin of political constitutions. The nation, uncertain to whom the supreme power justly belonged, consulted its interests: a civil

war arose; and, amidst the conflict of the passions, the state negociations and the common rights of war were followed by the disappearance of all subjection, the suppression of the prevailing form of worship, and of all established forms and authorities. Enthusiasts, equally inaccessible to reason or revelation, to a sense of propriety or any moral restraint, exercised the most irresistible influence on the course of events. The high church sunk into misery, the ancient nobility were degraded to the level of the mob, the whole constitution fell into ruin, and the king finally perished by the axe of the executioner.

The horror of this deed pervaded all Europe: even Alexei Michailovitsch deprived the English of the commercial privileges which they had enjoyed in Russia.

SECTION XIII.

RUSSIA.

The empire of Russia recovered slowly and with difficulty from the effects of a revolution, which had no resemblance either to that of Portugal or of England.

Fedor, the son of the czar Ivan Vasilievitsch, and the last prince of the family of Rurik, having died without male heirs (A. D. 1598), the Bojars elected Irene Gudenov, his widow, as successor to the throne: but as she refused to accept that dignity, the patriarch of Moscow, the archbishop of Novogorod, the princes of the royal family, the Bojars, and all the nobility, united their votes in favor of Boris Gudenov, her brother.

The new czar was honored with embassies from Sha Abbas the Great, king of Persia, the emperor Rudolf the Second, the kings of the North, and the Hanse towns. Boris, in imitation of the policy of Ivan, protected the commerce of Lubeck and Stralsund; gave the same privileges to the Dutch as to the English, and allowed the German protestants the free exercise of their religion. He further encouraged commerce by loans without interest: a duty of five per cent. was levied upon all imported articles;

but every man was permitted to export goods to the amount of his imports, free of duty.

A. D. 1604. Boris was governing his empire with wisdom and reputation, when Gregory Atrepieff, a young monk, conceived the project of attempting to obtain possession of the throne of Russia. Boris was accused of having put to death, by different methods, both the late czar and his brother prince Demetrius: Atrepieff personated the latter, persuaded the vayvode of Sendomiers, and many other Polish noblemen, of the truth of his pretensions; and promised, if he should be restored by their arms, to aggrandise them, and to favor the Roman catholic faith: many of the Bojars forsook the czar, who died of grief, and left the throne to his son Fedor.

A. D. 1605. Moscow was conquered by the Poles, and Dmitri ascended, as was supposed, the throne of his fathers, and married the daughter of the vayvode of Sendomiers. It is on many accounts doubtful, whether the legitimate heir of the monarchy was not concealed under the name of Atrepieff: his administration was laudable; he manifested an exalted mind, and displayed many virtues: on the contrary, he appeared to prefer the customs of Poland, and offended the pride of some of the nobles, in such a manner as to occasion an insurrection which cost him his life.

A. D. 1606. Wasilej Suskoi having been elected in his place, another Dmitri pretended to be that unfortunate czar. Moscow was besieged by the Poles; and prince Gallitzin compelled the czar to deliver himself up as a prisoner, in which condition he died.

The majority of the votes was now in favor of Vladislaf Vasa, a Polish prince, who by this election would have been indemnified for the loss of the crown of Sweden, and would have become the most powerful prince in the north of Europe. But the same zeal for the Roman Catholic religion, the difference of the manners, and the haughtiness of the Poles, excited the indignation of the Russians. Conspiracies, treasons, and murders, filled Moscow with distrust and bloodshed: more than one general massacre involved even the common citizens; and the treasure of

the czar was transported to Warsaw. Three successive Dmitris in this manner deluded the nation.

A. D. 1613. The great men and nobles of the empire, wearied with the confusions that prevailed, assembled for the purpose of deciding who should govern Russia. They passed three days in fasting and prayer; and so rigorously was this ordinance observed, that even mothers refused their milk to sucking babes. At length the nobles and the deputies of the states united their votes in favor of a boy of fifteen. Michaila Romanoff, a son of the archbishop Philaretus, and grandson, by the mother's side, of the czar Ivan Vasilievitsch, was raised to the throne; and it was resolved that the czars should thenceforward be nominated from the family of Romanoff, and invested with the sole power of the administration.

Michaila ascended the throne of an humiliated empire: all the institutions of Ivan, and all the useful regulations that Boris attempted to introduce, had vanished; the exhaustion was universal, and the influence of Poland and Sweden predominant. The young czar conducted his measures for the restoration of the power of his kingdom, chiefly in a peaceable and imperceptible manner.

About this time the Cossacks began to attach themselves to the Russians: a multitude of young men who wished only to lead an independent life, had formed these hordes on the shores of the Jaik and of the Caspian sea, where they lived under the government of an ataman, in a republic without women. The czar afforded them protection, and many of their number at length married their captives.

The Saporogian cossacks had collected in the region about the falls of the Dnepr. Lyanskoronsky, a Polish nobleman, whom they had chosen for their ataman, had conducted them into the Ukraine, and the prudent king Stephen Bathori had taken them into his pay: but Sigismund Vasa, and Vladislaf, in compliance with the urgent entreaties of his counsellors, endeavouring to convert them by force to the Roman Catholic faith, the Saporogians appealed to arms. Vladislaf gained one victory by artifice, but in vain: their avenger, Chmielnitzki, the conqueror of the Polish generals, made an irruption into the kingdom,

at the head of 100,000 savage warriors, and obliged the king, John Casimir Vasa, to make the peace of Szborow.

The latter had the weakness to allow this treaty to be broken; in consequence of which these free and valiant hordes transferred themselves to Alexei Michailovitsch, czar of Russia.

A. D. 1645. Under this Alexei, who was the father of Peter the Great, Russia prepared herself for that splendid light which was soon to blaze forth with such rapidity in her realm. As yet, indeed, her power was formidable only to the Asiatics and to her own subjects. A. D. 1635. Richelieu had an indistinct knowledge, that an emperor and great duke of all Russia, Kasan, Astrachan, and Siberia, reigned in the North, and sent Talleyrand into his dominions as an ambassador: but as yet no ambassador remained in Moscow longer than until his commission was completed; and Alexei could not comprehend for what reason Frederick von Gabel wished to reside at his capital, on the part of Denmark. His knowledge of Europe was derived from the answers that he received to his numerous questions from foreign merchants; until he at length caused a political gazette to be translated into the language of his court.

He was the first czar who sent an embassy to the emperor of China; and he rendered Tobolsk the staple market for Chinese silk, precious stones, and other manufactures. He endeavored to divert the commerce of the Persians from its track, by way of Bassora and Haleb, and to induce them to adopt the way across the Caspian, up the Volga, and through Russia.

This plan was interrupted by the rebellion of Stenka Raszyn, a cossack of the Don, the Pugatscheff of his age. Raszyn corrupted the army, chiefly by promising to restore the ancient liturgy, and to abolish that which had been reformed by the patriarch Nikon; but his designs were betrayed by the ataman, and he was put to death by being quartered.

SECTION XIV.

THE TURKS.

While the czar was combating the hereditary barbarism of his people, the empire of the Turks was falling to decay. Under Achmed the First, Egyptian rebels, for the first time, carried the head of the pacha about on a spear. Distinguished qualities, no longer the means of advancement, now only served to expose their possessors to destruction; and the welfare of the provinces was sacrificed to avaricious courtiers.

The Turkish nation, or soldiery, for that people never coalesced with the inhabitants of the country, remained inaccessible to all improvements in the art of war, and to all the progress of European civilization. Their language, which is intermixed with a great number of Arabic, Persic, and Zagay words, has different characters for the use of the common people, the merchant, the man of learning, and the statesman: there are no characters for the vowels, and the thirty-three consonants have only seventeen characters to express them. Every district has its peculiar dialect. The books of the Europeans thus remained sealed to the Turks; and the literature of the latter equally unintelligible to the former. The Turks fell into a state of decline, not so much from degeneracy, as because they remained stationary.

A. D. 1616. The effeminate Achmed died in his twenty-seventh year, from the consequences of excess. His brother Mustafa was excluded from the throne on account of his imbecility (A. D. 1617); and Osman, the son of Achmed, put to death (A. D. 1622), because he attempted to govern with vigor, and to enforce strict military discipline. At last, however, Morad the Fourth, the conqueror of Bagdad, reduced the janissaries to order: he was the last great padisha in the Ottoman family, but died at an early period, exhausted by intemperance. A. D. 1640. His brother Ibrahim was put to death in the same year in which the Christian powers concluded their thirty years' war, from which the Sublime Porte reaped no advantage. A. D. 1648.

SECTION XV.

CONCLUSION.

Such was the situation of Europe at the period when the family of Habsburg, exhausted by its own efforts, was obliged to submit to the vexatious conditions which France, with the assistance of Sweden and of the protestant party in Germany, was enabled to impose: and from that time Lewis the Fourteenth assumed the ascendancy.

Remote states had also undergone violent commotions; but Portugal was content under the sovereignty of a native king; and the Porte was occupied in consuming the natural resources of her beautiful provinces in sloth and effeminacy. On the other hand, it was impossible to calculate what might be the future power of England; and none but Frederick William foresaw the formidable greatness to which Russia would attain.

During the one hundred and fifty years of the superiority of the house of Habsburg, a number of great men, called into existence by Providence exactly at the time and place in which their powers would be most effective, had decided the direction of human affairs: these illustrious individuals had shown themselves at the head of simple and feeble nations; and had proved that virtue, which is at our command, is more effective than power, which is distributed by the hand of blind fortune.

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